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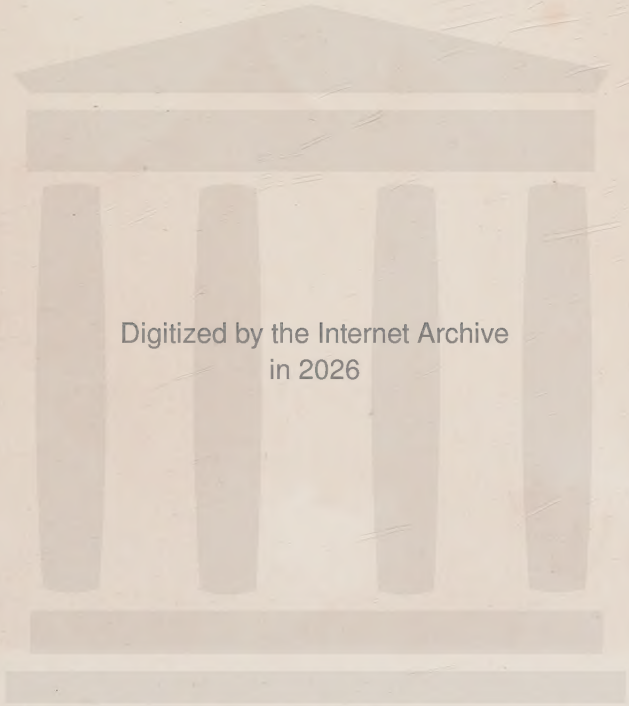
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SIR THOMAS SMITH, K.t

NAT. A.D. 1512. DEMAT. A.D. 1577.

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THE

LIFE

OF

THE LEARNED

SIR THOMAS SMITH, K^T. D.C.L.

PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE TO KING EDWARD THE SIXTH, AND QUEEN ELIZABETH.

WHEREIN ARE DISCOVERED

MANY SINGULAR MATTERS RELATING TO THE STATE OF LEARNING, THE REFORMATION OF RELIGION, AND THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE KINGDOM, DURING HIS TIME.

IN ALL WHICH HE HAD A GREAT AND HAPPY INFLUENCE.

BY JOHN STRYPE, M.A.

A NEW EDITION,

WITH CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS BY THE AUTHOR.

OXFORD,

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS.

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TO

SIR EDWARD SMITH,

OF HILLHALL IN ESSEX,

BARONET.

SIR,

THE regard I have ever borne in my mind towards men of eminency, in times past born and bred among us, (especially when with their qualities and places they have been adorned with learning, wisdom, or integrity,) led me at my leisure hours to make cursory collections out of my books and papers, of their lives and actions. And many such men there were in the last age, when learning and religion, after a long eclipse, began again to enlighten our horizon. Whereof some, however useful they were in their times, and made a fair figure to the world, are now in effect quite forgotten; and though the names of others of that sort are better known, yet but slight and imperfect characters remain of them: whenas they were perhaps the great pillars of the State or Church, and whose counsels and assistances the Prince made much use of in the weighty transactions of his kingdom. Of these, I confess, I cannot read or hear, but I am drawn with an inquisitive humour to know more of them, as whence they sprang, their country, their

parentage, their education, their tempers and inclinations, and remarkable actions, and what events fell out to them, over and above what is commonly known or vulgarly told of them. And when by searching a little out of the ordinary way as it were, (I mean in the bye-corners of old rejected papers or letters, and other journals, records, registers, &c.) I gain further notice of these ancient patriots, there is wont to arise thence a great complacency to my mind. And the thoughts that it may be as delightful to others as to myself, to revive the memory of such, and represent as much of them as can be retrieved, have moved me to make public some of my collections of this nature. And moreover, I reckon it a matter of equity and gratitude due from posterity, to preserve the names and remembrances of all worthy men that have served God, their Prince, or country, by their learning or other abilities. And God himself seems to take care of this, when he saith, *That the memory of the just shall be blessed*, as their due reward.

These, Sir, are some of the reasons why I have now brought that to pass, which I formerly made you privy to; namely, the publishing what I could retrieve of the life of your most laudable and accomplished ancestor Sir Thomas Smith. He was a person that lived in very critical times, occasioned by court factions, and the frequent alterations of religion, and the various dispositions and interests of the Princes whom he served. So that he could hardly keep himself always upon his legs: but by his great wisdom and moderation, though he sometimes fell, he fell softly, and fell to rise again with

more glory. This may make his history the more pleasant and useful: especially being mixed with many occurrences in his time, wherein he bore a great part, both in the University, in the Church, and in the commonwealth. Where such things may be read, which perhaps are not to be met with elsewhere.

Your said ancestor, Sir, was the best scholar in his time, a most admirable philosopher, orator, linguist, and moralist. And from thence it came to pass, that he was also a very wise statesman, and a person withal of most unalterable integrity and justice, (which he made his *politics* to comport with,) and lastly, a constant embracer of the reformed religion, and therein made a holy and good end. And therefore the English soil which he so adorned would be ingrateful, if she should let the memory of such a man born in her pass away, and lie for ever in obscurity. But as he was all this to the public, so, Sir, let me add, he is, and ever will be, an ornament to your ancient house and family, to your Theyden Mount, where the noble seat erected by him will be his lasting monument, and finally to the county of Essex, where he was born and educated, whither he gladly retired, as often as public business permitted him, and where he quietly resigned his last breath to God.

This great man is the subject of this book: which therefore deserves to have been writ by an abler pen. I am conscious to myself that I have omitted many remarkable passages of his life, which, could they have been retrieved, would have shewn him still more resplendent to the world.

But it is impossible to recover all. What I have collected together in these papers from various and sundry books, and original writings, are sufficient to give a fair, though not a full account of him. And that which I value my present undertaking for is, that I have done it impartially: for it is not of the nature of a rhetorical panegyric, wherein more care is taken to praise than to speak truth. To which last I have had a very tender regard; being borne out in every thing I have writ by the authority of indubitable monuments; that is, either of Smith's own letters, books, and papers, or of others his friends and contemporaries.

One thing more, Sir, seems requisite to have been done, to render this work more perfect, namely, together with this to have published his manuscript exercitations and discourses, which being the fruits and products of his learned brain, no question would have been very acceptable to all such as have a value for him. Two of these, that is, his Dialogues concerning Queen Elizabeth's marriage, and his Tables of the valuation of coins, I have now brought to light. But, alas! what pity is it that all the rest of his brave philosophical, astronomical, moral, political, and divine thoughts, digested by him into divers tracts, are now, it is to be feared, (except his Commonwealth, and his books of Pronunciation,) utterly lost: together with all his other papers, except some letters of state, that lie in the King's Paper-house, and those rough writings, Sir, in your hands, and a few others elsewhere. But where are now his University exercises, his learned readings, his eloquent orations, exhortatory of virtue, mo-

rality, and sound knowledge, his correspondences with the best wits of his age, and many elucubrations upon ingenious subjects, which his busy head was always employed in? I am afraid I must say, they are perished irrecoverably.

So that this poor book of mine must serve for the chiefest remains of our Statesman. And, Sir, my pains therein I hope will be taken in good part by you and others, excusing candidly my imperfections, as particularly my style, which peradventure to some may appear more loose and neglected, and not so smooth, nor set off with words, as might be expected in books appearing abroad now-a-days. But my chief aim is to speak truth, and to make myself understood of him that reads me: nor do I care, this being secured, to be too curious in my expressions. And perhaps my converse with a language, and the writings of an age or two past, may render my periods more rough and unpolished. But this I suppose will humanely be forgiven me.

Nor would I have it disgust you, Sir, that in the current of the history you are sparingly entertained with some Latin poetry, or other allegations out of authors, so long as they are historical, and directly tend to illustrate the story, and the man I am writing of, and not merely used for flourish and ornament. This caution I the rather give, being aware of a censure of this nature, made by one Mr. Nicolson, upon a book lately set forth, concerning the life of Archbishop Cranmer; blaming the author for crowding so much his other learning into the body of the history; (he means citations out of the Latin poets and other classics;) "which," as he saith, "instead of entertaining his readers answer-

English Historical Library, pt. ii. p. 105.

" able to his good design, was apt to amuse and " distract them." The rule he drives at for an historiographer to observe is good: for a reader cannot but be displeased to have the subject matter he is reading frequently interrupted by moral sentences, observations, or stories out of authors, or other digressions. But surely, by the way, he hath wronged that writer, no man seeming to be more of Mr. Nicolson's mind than he, and less guilty of that which he lays to his charge: for I have read the book, and unless I am much mistaken, there is but one distich out of Martial, (and scarcely another quotation to be met with in the whole volume,) and that was concerning the great Pompey's having no monument, as that good Archbishop had none. But if peradventure any other citation be found in that book, it is directly in pursuit of the history, and not surely (to speak so much in that writer's behalf) intended as a mere embellishment. And if this be a fault, I may in this piece be guilty of some such blemish, which I reckon in truth none at all.

You may possibly, Sir, here and there in the book meet with some passages concerning Sir Thomas, seeming too minute and jejune to be taken notice of, and of little moment. But herein I intreat you, Sir, to bear with me, as you would do with an admirer of some piece of antiquity, who is wont diligently to pick up and preserve even the contemptible stones and fragments that he finds in the ruins of it. But, besides, upon a little circumstance we know many times depend great matters; and a hint may open a door into some material points of history. And, in a word, what one reader may run over as not worth regarding, another may perceive

delight or profit therein. Which were considerations that swayed me not to reject or cast aside even the slighter matters that may be found in this history.

You are, Sir, the properest person to whom this book should be dedicated: not only in that you have so freely communicated to me divers of Sir Thomas's papers remaining in your custody; and that you are his next relation in a collateral line, and to you is descended his beloved manor of Mounthaw, or Mounthault, and that elegant fabric of his rearing there: but chiefly because you do so truly resemble his virtues, in being so useful a magistrate, a gentleman of so sober and regular a conversation in this loose and debauched age, and so constant an adherer to the religion professed in the Church of England, which your predecessor had a great hand in the reformation of, and in which he so stedfastly persevered.

Pardon therefore, Sir, this that I have done, to prefix Sir Edward Smith's name to Sir Thomas Smith's life, and this long address I have made to you on the same account: wishing with all my heart the continuance of your worthy name and family for many successive generations, in the hopeful issue God hath given you, to be a blessing to Essex, and to the whole English nation. And so I desist from being further importunate, and am, and have great reason always to be,

SIR,

Your very humble and

obliged Servant,

J. S.

A

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THE

LIFE

OF THE LEARNED

SIR THOMAS SMITH, KNIGHT.

CHAP. I.

Sir Thomas Smith's birth, parentage, and education.

CHAP. I.

THE learned Sir Thomas Smith, sometime Secretary of State to King Edward VI. and afterward to Queen Elizabeth, was born at Walden in the county of Essex, distinguished by the name of Saffron Walden, the lands of that parish and the parts adjacent being famous for the growth of that useful medicinal plant; whether first brought thither by this Knight's industry (being a great planter) I know not; for it was first brought into England, as we are told, in the reign of King Edward III. Camd. Brit.

A. D. 1512. Hen. VIII. Born at Walden in Essex.

According to Camden, who writes, that Sir Thomas Smith died anno 1577, in his climacteric, he must have been born in the year 1514. According to Fox, (who, in his relation of an evidence given by the said Knight in February, anno 1551, against Bishop Gardiner, assigned his age then to be three and thirty,) he must have been born in the year 1518. But himself putteth his age out of doubt in his book of the English Commonwealth, where he saith, that March the 28th, 1565, he was in the one and fiftieth year of his age. By which computation he must have come into the world in the year 1512, (a year famous to England for building of a ship, the biggest that ever the sea bore.) And by the inscription on his monu-

In what year. Hist. of Q. Elizabeth. Acts and Monum. 1st edit.

CHAP. I.

A. D. 1512. Hen. VIII.

ment it appears, he departed this life in the sixty-fifth year of his age. So that Camden made him two years younger than he was, and Fox five; unless we should say the figure 33 is misprinted for 39, a fault too common in his books.

His father.

Our Knight's father was John Smith of Walden, gentleman, a person of good rank, quality, and wealth. Of which we may take some measure from two purchases he made of King Edward in one year, *viz.* the third of his reign; that is to say, a chauntry in the church of [a] Long Ashton in Somersetshire, with other lands, tenements, and hereditaments in the counties of Somerset and Gloucester, which cost him 293*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* His other purchase was all the guild or fraternity in Great Walden lately dissolved, with divers other lands and tenements in Essex and London. For which he, with another joint-purchaser, paid 531*l.* 14*s.* 11*d.* Of which fraternity of Walden this, by the way, must be remembered for the honour of it, that in a grant made to it by King Henry VIII. as he willed there, "that he might evermore be remembered in "their perpetual prayers, so he charitably desired, that he "might be admitted a brother thereof, and his dear wife "Queen Katherine to be a sister." And divers others are expressed there to be desirous to be admitted to the same, as the Right Worshipful Dr. Wolsey, Almoner to the King; Richard Nix, Bishop of Norwich; Henry, Earl of Essex, and his lady; Lord Brook, Chief Justice of England; Sir John Cutts, Sir Thomas Semer, and divers other gentlemen and ladies.

The Guild of Walden.

Jo. Smith, High Sheriff.

This John Smith, if we look further back, was in the

[a] There was one John Smith of Bristow, gent. and of the lordship of Lang Aisteton [*i. e.* Longaiston,] in the county of Somerset, who, 36 Henry VIII. had this coat granted him by Tho. Hawley, Clarentieux, *viz.* Two gemells unde, silver, between two griffins passant, gold, the wings levant, languid, and armed, azure. Between the said gemells a bull's head gold: on each side a mullet silver, perced of the field. And this was the Smith, I suppose, that made the purchase mentioned above.

30th of King Henry VIII. High Sheriff of the counties of Essex and Hertford: for in those times one Sheriff served both counties. CHAP. I. A. D. 1512.

In the year 1545, and the 35th of King Henry aforesaid, his coat of arms was granted him by the principal king of arms, or rather confirmed. For the said King's patent specifies, that he was descended of honest lineage, and his ancestors had long continued in nobility and bearing of arms; and that it was Mr. Smith's desire, that the king of arms would ratify unto him his former coat, and register it in the records of his office. The coat therefore granted, annexed, and attributed unto him was sables, a fesse dauncy between three lionceux, regardant, argent, languid gules, pawing with their left paws upon as many altars flaming and burning thereon, (for that these were anvils, as some have thought, alluding to the name of Smith, is a fancy;) upon the fesse nine billets of his field. The crest an eagle rising sable, holding in his right claw a pen argent, flames of fire issuing thereout. This crest Sir Thomas changed upon a notable reason, as we shall relate in due place. Of this coat of arms I have laid a copy of the original patent in the Appendix; which is in parchment, very well adorned round about with pictures of roses and flowers de lys, and the lively effigies of Garter arrayed in his rich coat, standing with a white wand in his hand, and a crown on his head, and the coat of Smith blazoned on the right side of him, and pointed to by the said white wand. Hen. VIII. His coat of arms. Num. I.

I have but one thing more to say of this gentleman, and that is, that he was an old favourer of the religion reformed, in which he brought up his son Thomas from his youth. He lies buried in the church of Walden, where his monument is yet remaining; that is, so much of it as contains his coat of arms; but the brass that bore the inscription torn off. This for Sir Thomas's father. A favourer of religion.

His parentage on his mother's side was also genteel, being derived from the ancient name of the Charnocks of Lancashire; his mother Agnes being a daughter and co- Sir Thomas's mother.

CHAP. I.

heir of that family. By this gentlewoman John Smith had issue divers children of both sexes, *viz.* four daughters, Agnes and Margery, Alice and Jane, (which two last were married;) and three sons, Thomas, John, and George. The posterity of which last flourish to this day in wealth and honour; and possess the seat and inheritance of Thomas, the subject of our ensuing history, with great improvements of the estate. Though no more sons are expressed in the roll of the pedigree, as it is preserved in the office of arms; yet there seems to have been another son, an elder brother to Thomas. For I have seen sometime a crescent for distinction in his seal, which he used for the sealing of his letters, engraven with his arms.

A. D. 1512. Hen. VIII.

His brother John.

His brother John was the chief instrument and procurer of the new erection of the corporation of the town of Walden, in the third year of King Edward VI. after the dissolution of the ancient fraternity of the Holy Trinity of the said town, by virtue of an act of Parliament in the first of the said King mentioned before. The corporation then founded by that King's letters patents bore the name (as the old fraternity or guild had done) of treasurer and two chamberlains, who were justices of peace, and four and twenty aldermen; which now, by a later charter, is changed into a mayor and twelve aldermen. In those letters patents the said John Smith junior was nominated the first treasurer of the said corporation. In the chamber where the town writings of Walden are kept, there is a book, containing their by-laws, which bears the title of *Ordinances and Statutes for the Corporation of the Town of Walden upon the new erection of the same.* From thence is extracted what is above said. Another piece of good service done by the said John to the town was, that when an ancient almshouse, founded anno 1400, the lands of which were swallowed up and lost, being given to the King by act of Parliament, as an appendant perhaps of the guild, the parishioners made suit to him in behalf thereof by this John Smith, who, by means of his brother, our Sir Thomas Smith, then Secretary of State, obtained

letters patents from the King, dated February 18, in the third of his reign, that he the said John Smith, being then treasurer, and William Strachy the younger, and Thomas Williamson, then chamberlains, and their successors, might found, erect, &c. an almshouse, with one master and his brother, &c. and that it should be called King Edward's almshouse. I can give no account of this branch of the family, unless perhaps it was that stock of the Smiths that lived long in Little Walden upon a moderate living there; which now is gone out of the name, and possessed at present by the Reverend Dr. E. Norton; to whom I am beholden for communicating what is here written of this brother of Sir Thomas, with some other things relating to the town of Walden.

His brother George a merchant.

His younger brother George followed the calling of a merchant of London, living in a house of his brother Thomas's in Philpot-lane, while he remained at Cambridge. And as his money came in there, he used to send it to his said brother to mend his stock, without taking a penny or halfpenny advantage in consideration of his loan, the better to assist him in carrying on his traffic, as Sir Thomas wrote somewhere, to justify himself from an imputation of covetousness, charged upon him once by the Duchess of Somerset, when he lived in her family.

His school.

Where our youth's tender years were formed I cannot assign; but I conclude it to be at the old school in his native town of Walden; which afterward, by his interest at the court, he got advanced unto a royal foundation, with good endowment from the King his master, in the third year of his reign; when he granted to the school there two mills, *viz.* a corn-mill near the town, and a malt-mill in it; together with all the emoluments, tolls, and benefits accruing, and an annuity of twelve pounds, issuing out of the manor of Willingale Spane in Essex, for the maintenance and support of the said school. This seems to be but a grafting upon the ancient school here: for I have received from the reverend person above mentioned, the

CHAP. I.

present Vicar of Walden, and he from the inspection of the town writings, that there was anciently a school in this place, and a master and usher over it; and that it was governed by divers excellent orders for its six forms; and that in the 14th year of King Henry VIII. one Dame Jane Bradbury (for why should these old memorials be lost?) settled ten pounds per annum upon it; that there was also a tripartite indenture for the said school, dated August 24, betwixt Dame Jane Bradbury widow, sister to John Leche, late Vicar of Walden, and the treasurer and chamberlains of the guild of the Holy Trinity in the parish church of Walden, and the Abbot and convent of the monastery of the same town: and that one William Cawson had behaved himself so well in singing mass, and in teaching the school, that he was elected when it was made a free school; and he was obliged to teach grammar after the form of Winchester and Eton; and to teach freely the children that were born in Walden, Little Chesterford, Newport, and Widdington, and the children and kinsfolk of the said Dame Jane.

A. D. 1512. Hen. VIII.

A. D. 1526. Removed to the University.

We are in obscurity concerning the towardliness of Smith's young years, and those sparks of aptness, ingenuity, and virtue that then appeared in him; which yet we may take for granted from his early remove to the University of Cambridge: for, according to the nearest computation I can make, he was transplanted thither at the age of fourteen or fifteen years at the most.

Distribution of this History.

And having brought him thus far, to enter now upon our remarks of him, and to unveil who and what this man was, whom I have raised, as it were, from the shades, now after an hundred years and more, to set him before this present age, as a pattern of true honour, virtue, and generosity, we shall take a fourfold view of him.

I. At the University, where his learning made him famed.

II. Under King Edward, when he became a courtier.

III. Under Queen Mary, when he concealed himself, and lived in a private capacity.

IV. Under Queen Elizabeth, when after she had much employed him in her service, both in her own and foreign courts, he piously concluded his useful life.

CHAP. II.

Sent to Queen's college in Cambridge: chosen a King's Scholar: reads the Greek Lecture, and rectifies the pronunciation: University Orator: his applause.

A. D. 1526. Hen. VIII. Entered at Queen's College.

HE was admitted in Queen's college in the aforesaid University; a college then reckoned in the rank of those houses that favoured Erasmus and Luther, and harboured such as consorted privately together to confer about religion, purged from the abuses of the schools and the superstitions of Popery. Of this house was Foreman, who hid Luther's books when search was made in the college for them; and Heyns, an ancient friend of the Gospel, and sufferer for it; afterwards Master of the college, and Dean of Exeter, and one of those who in King Edward's reign was chosen to assist at the compiling of the English Communion Book. And perhaps Erasmus and his writings were more particularly favoured here, that most learned man having not long before resided in this house. These might have been some advantages to ground young Smith in principles of religion and sound knowledge.

King Henry's scholar.

While he was thus a student here, such notice was taken of his parts and hopefulness, that the knowledge of him came to King Henry, who, according to the custom of the princes of England in those times, chose him, and John Cheke of St. John's college in the same University, afterwards tutor to Prince Edward his son, to be his scholars, and allotted them salaries out of his revenues for their encouragement in their studies; whereby Smith became assisted to bear his charges in the University, but especially in his travels abroad. Cheke makes mention of this honour done to them both, in an epistle to that King before his edition of Chrysostom's two Homilies, which he first published from a manuscript, and translated into Latin, wherein he hath these words: *Coaptasti me et Thomam Smithum, socium et æqualem meum, in scholasticos*

Cheke.

tuos; i. e. "Your Majesty chose me, and Thomas Smith my "companion and equal, for your own scholars." And Smith also takes occasion to make a grateful mention of it to Bishop Gardiner in the controversy about the right pronouncing of the Greek, (of which we shall hear by and by,) and thus describes himself and his said fellow: *Quos par ætas, conditio similis, eadem ratio studiorum, et parilis in utrumque regia benignitas, et perpetua quædam comparatio ingeniorum et æmulatio, quæ solet inter cæteros invidiam et dissensionem excitare, conjunctissime semper hactenus copulavit, et fraterno amore constrinxit; i. e.* "That equality "of age and conditions, the same course of studies, and "the royal bounty equally exhibited to us, and the conti- "nual vying with one another, and emulation of our parts "and wits, which in others is wont to kindle envy and dis- "sension, hitherto hath united us closely, and tied us both "together in love as brothers." But for this royal distinguishing favour they were envied by many in the University. And this was thought to be a reason that there was such an opposition made to that new correct way of sounding Greek words, which they first brought in. Which occasioned Smith to say, "Let it not offend any, that we "are the King's scholars, and are so called; and that his "Majesty doth not altogether despise us: that we profess "under the happy auspice and salary of the most learned "and potent Prince."

De rect. Pronunciat.

These two proved afterwards an incomparable pair of Christian philosophers; and, as long as they were in Cambridge, continuing their fame for learning. Many years after, one that knew them well, and that University, (I mean Dr. Haddon,) said of them, that such they had been, and still remained, that none of that University could compare with them, nor, in his judgment, any foreigners whatsoever. And it must not be passed over what gave one of the first occasions to the studies that improved them to such degrees of learning. J. Redman, D. D. and Master of Trinity College, but formerly of St. John's, returning from beyond seas, where he studied in

What first gave occasion to his studies.

Ascham's Schoolmast.

CHAP. II.

A. D. 1526. Hen. VIII.

some foreign Universities, and chiefly at Paris, brought home with him the knowledge of the Latin and Greek tongues, and was well versed in Tully. Smith and his companion, who were then very young, (for it was about the year 1531,) were stirred up with a kind of impulse and emulation of his learning, and the honour that was on that account daily done unto him. And being desirous to follow him and his learning, they threw aside their barbarisms, and applied themselves to the reading of Plato, Demosthenes, Aristotle, and Cicero.

A. D. 1531. Made Fellow.

Smith's diligence soon procured him to be preferred in the college, where he was afterwards to make a great figure, and prove a most eminent ornament; being made Fellow in the year 1531, then but nineteen years of age.

A. D. 1533.

Scarce had two years passed, but Smith had acquired such good skill in Greek, that he was called to read the public Greek lectures, when his learned fellow Cheke studied and read them more privately. And from them we may date the time that the knowledge of Greek, and the true florid elocution of it, commenced in this, nay, and all other nations. Custom had now prevailed in a very improper and false sounding of certain Greek vowels and diphthongs. For men now pronounced ι, η, υ, ει, οι, υι, all as ἰῶτα. This exceedingly disparaged the pronunciation of that noble language: [a] *When the reader had almost nothing else to speak but lamentable sounds, and that piteous vowel* I, as Smith himself complained.

Reads the Greek lecture.

A. D. 1535. Consults with Cheke about the sounds of Greek.

Smith and Cheke began at last to confer together seriously about this matter, it being now the year 1535. They well perceived how the vulgar sounding of the Greek was, and concluded it evidently false, that so many different letters and diphthongs should have but one and the same sound. And a difficult thing they found it to teach this tongue well, by reason of this great and absurd confusion. They proceeded to search authors, if perhaps thence any

[a] Nihil fere aliud haberet ad loquendum, nisi lugubres sonos, et illud flebile ἰῶτα. *Smith. de Pronunciatione rect.*

certainty might be taken up. But the modern writers did but little avail them. For Erasmus they had not yet seen, who had in a book found fault with the common reading of the Greek. But though both saw these palpable errors, they could not agree among themselves; but one thought one thing, and another another; especially concerning the letters ἦτα and ὖψῖλον. They both dreaded the effects of an unusual sound, which, by reason of the novelty, would be hard and hateful. A little after having gotten Erasmus and Terentianus, (an author that wrote *de Literis et Syllabis*,) they privately made many corrections, and meditated diligently within the walls of their own studies a more emendate manner of speaking; but did not adventure yet to bring it into light, nor communicate it to any, but those whose intimate familiarity and friendship made them partakers of their studies.

Brings in a new way of pronouncing Greek.

When this new utterance of Greek was sufficiently conquered and inured to them by private use, and did daily more and more please them, by reason of that fulness and sweetness that they apprehended in it, they thought good then to make trial of it publicly. It was agreed that Smith should begin. He read at that time *Aristotle de Republica*, in Greek, as he had done some years before. And that the roughness of a new pronunciation might give the less offence, he used some craft, which was this, that in his reading he would let fall a word only now and then uttered in the new correct sound. Which he did for this end, that if his auditors utterly refused his words thus pronounced, then he reckoned he ought to defer his purpose for some longer time; and accordingly so he intended to do: but if they received them with a good will, then he would the more speedily go on with his innovation. But behold the issue! At first no notice was taken of it; but when he did it oftener, they began to observe, and listen more attentively. And when Smith had often inculcated η and οι as E and OI, they who three years before had heard him sound them frequently

CHAP. II.

A. D. 1535. Hen. VIII.

uncorrectly after the old way, could not think it was a lapse of his tongue, but suspected something else, and laughed at the unusual sounds. He again, as though his tongue had slipped, would sometimes correct himself, and say the word over again after the old manner. But when he did this daily, and, as appeared, every day, the corrected sounds flowed from him more and more, some of his friends came to him, and told him what they noted in his lectures. Smith now cared not to dissemble, but owned that he had been thinking of something privately, but that it was not yet enough digested and prepared for the public. They, on the other hand, prayed him not to conceal it from them, but to tell them without any grudging. Whereupon he promised he would. Upon this rumour many came together, and repaired to him; whom he required only to hear his reasons, and to have patience with him three or four days at most, until the sounds, by use, were made more trite to their ears, and the prejudice of novelty more worn off. And so by little and little he explained to them the whole reason of the sounds. Many went to Cheke, and related to him Smith's discourses; and others resorted to others, according as they esteemed them to be men of judgment in this matter. These thought some one thing, some another; Cheke assented.

Reads privately in his college.

At this very time Smith read upon one of Homer's Odysses at home in the college. There he began more plainly and openly to shew and determine the difference of these sounds. Then many came, that they might the more easily learn of him *viva voce* to frame their tongues, and utter the true sounds. The same did Cheke in his college. It is not to be expressed with what greediness and affection this was received among the youth, and how gladly they agreed to it. The following winter in St. John's college was acted the Greek play of Aristophanes called Plutus, in this pronunciation, and one or two more of his comedies; when among those that professed Greek, and were esteemed learned men, it was observed there was

not so much as one that signified any dislike, or shewed any opposition.

A. D. 1536. Hen. VIII.

John Ponet, a learned and ingenious young man, and Smith's scholar, (afterwards Bishop of Winton,) seems to have succeeded his tutor in this place: for he read Greek in the schools in the name of the University near this time, and followed his master's way of sounding Greek words. Next him came into this place Ascham of St. John's, a person of like wit and diligence; who read Isocrates. He, in the beginning of his lectures, contended with Ponet about this way of pronouncing, and refused to follow it: but because of the authority that Cheke and Smith had gained in the University, he would not reprove it openly. Yet was it not long after, that he became a very eager defender of this very thing, and so remained. Thus in a few years had this correct way of reading Greek, introduced by Smith, prevailed all the University over. And, which was more remarkable, it was consented to by John Redman, Public Professor and Reader of Divinity, of great honour and deference in the University for his learning, integrity of life, and gravity of manners; who, when at any time in his readings he alleged a text in Greek, used to read it after the correct pronunciation. And thus by Smith's pains and endeavours, never to be forgotten by posterity, was the noble Greek tongue restored to itself, as it was spoken in the times when Greece flourished, and brought forth Plato, Dionysius, Plutarchus, Demosthenes, Thucydides, and others: out of whose writings he and Cheke produced authorities that they pronounced the Greek as he taught. And by this revived pronunciation was displayed the flower and plentifulness of that language, the variety of sounds, the grandeur of diphthongs, the majesty of long letters, and the grace of distinct speech.

Smith's correct way of sounding the Greek prevails in the University.

And as the University laid that honour upon him, of making himself their Greek reader, so they gave him the office of their Orator [b]. In his Greek lectures, among other

Made University Orator.

[b] He was made University Orator anno 1538. *Full. Hist. Camb.*

CHAP. II.

A. D. 1536. Hen. VIII.

good authors (as Aristotle and Homer) he read Socrates and Euripides for philosophy and morality. His oratory and learning intermixed was so admirable, and beyond the common strain, that Queen's college carried away the glory for eloquence from all the colleges in the University besides, and was rendered so famous by this her scholar, that it had like to have changed her name from Queen's to Smith's college.

Unius eloquio sic jam Reginea tecta
Florebant, quasi quæ vellent Smithea vocari.
Sic reliquos inter socios caput extulit unus.

Musar. Lachrymæ.

As Gabriel Harvey, Smith's townsman, and one that knew him well, writes upon his death.

His lectures flocked to.

Such was the fame of his lectures, that not only his own private College, but all the University, learned and less learned, young and old, flocked to hear him. So writes the same author:

———Pendebat ab ore
Unius privata domus, Schola publica, docti,
Indocti, Schola tota Virúm, Schola tota Puellúm.

And the learnedest and gravest men, and his seniors, and the choicest wits of the University, would be present when he read, and sit there as his scholars; as Redman, Cox, Cheke, Cecil, (he that afterwards was Lord Treasurer,) Haddon, Ascham, Car, Tonge, Bill, Wilson, Goldwel, Watson, &c. men of great name afterwards in Church and State.

Felix qui potuit Smitho auscultare loquenti;
Sive illi Græce dicendum, sive Latine.

"And happy he that might hear Smith speak, whether it "were in Greek or Latin." Thus he continued divers years in the University, till he was succeeded in the place of Orator by his fellow and friend John Cheke, and he by Roger Ascham, another curiously learned man, in the year 1544.

CHAP. III.

He travels: his conferences with learned men at Orleans and Paris: takes his degree at Padua: returns home: his usefulness at the University: the controversy there arisen about his way of pronouncing Greek.

SMITH having now arrived at some maturity of knowledge and learning, and in the seven and twentieth year of his age, (it being now the year of our Lord 1539,) went abroad to travel, for the further improvement of himself in polite learning, elegant language, skill in the modern tongues, and experience of the customs and laws of other countries: a thing commonly practised by scholars in these times, to study some time at foreign Universities in France and Italy, which used then to be replenished with very learned professors. Being abroad, he took notice of the different ways of speaking Latin; which although he did not like, especially the French, who sounded Latin very corruptly, yet he conformed himself to their manner of speech. And when he came into Italy, he followed them there in pronouncing some letters different from our way; as when he came home he returned to speak as his countrymen did. A. D. 1539. Hen. VIII. He goes abroad.

But at Orleans he became acquainted with Christophorus Landrinus, a sharp and diligent man, famed for his skill both in Latin and Greek, and reader of both tongues in that city, encouraged with a noble salary given him by the Duke of Orleans. While he and Smith conferred together of studies, (as he was courteous to all, but especially obliging to learned strangers,) they fell at length upon the Greek learning. Here Smith took occasion to mention the manner of pronunciation lately by him taught at Cambridge; and having explained to him the whole manner and account of it, it cannot be expressed with what willingness, nay, greediness, he received it, giving his ready assent and approbation to it, not only in words, Confers with the Professor at Orleans,

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but in experiment and deeds; ever after following the same course in his teaching.

A. D. 1539. Hen. VIII. And at Paris with Strazelius.

After some months he departed from Orleans to Paris, to wait for the return of money, and to receive his allowance to defray the charges of his journey to Italy. But being forced to tarry there somewhat long for letters, and weary of doing nothing, he thought he might more profitably spend his leisure time in reading some lecture publicly, and especially in Greek. This he communicated to Strazelius, the King's Professor of the Greek tongue there. But as yet they came to no resolution what book to read upon. Nor indeed did the Professor much encourage Smith to read at all: because, as he told him, Paris did abound with readers; and that there were many lectures in Greek, though none of the best. He added, that that person was honoured with auditors in that city, not that did most learnedly explain his author, but that could obtain the greatest favour, and was best known among the people. But yet the Professor offered him, if he had confidence of himself, that he might shew himself before the people. This cooled our scholar; and now he objected, that he should not tarry long there; and that there was another thing that discouraged him from reading Greek: for that he being a stranger, and not well skilled either in the French tongue, or the customs, might expose himself to envy; which is wont to accompany all them that profess something different from the rest. The Professor asked what that was? Smith answered, his pronunciation; which, he said, was almost quite different from theirs which he heard there, especially in some letters and diphthongs; to which, as he added, he had so accustomed himself, that he could not easily leave it, if he would; nor indeed would he, if he could; so near did it come to truth, and the use of the ancients, and the nature of sounds; and now that he was accustomed to it, it seemed more pleasant and easy. "I understand," answered Strazelius, "what you say to be that pronunciation that "Erasmus pursued in a little comment of his." "That very

CHAP. III.

A. D. 1539. Hen. VIII.

"pronunciation," replied Smith: "for it is most evident "that this pronunciation of yours is corrupt; and it is "very easily proved that the ancients spoke otherwise, and "made a difference where now none at all appears." Then for proof he produced that concerning ἀμυνία, in Aristophanes, resembling the bellowing of an ox; and βὴ βὴ, out of Suidas, representing the bleating of a sheep: which would not imitate either, if the former word were read *amínia*, and the latter *bibi*, according to that present vulgar pronouncing. And several other authorities did Smith give, from whence he gathered, that the sounds of the common readers of Greek were not the same which the ancients in Greece used. "It is certain," said Strazelius, "there be "many reasons and conjectures in favour of what you "urge, and that place out of Aristophanes is clear. Yet "they that hold the contrary opinion are not altogether "destitute of conjectures too. For my part," added the Professor, "I am contented with the present sound such "as it is. I have had no mind to strive about any new "matter; and if you should attempt any such thing, I "know not how they that shall hear you would take it, "having been always brought up in another way of pro-"nunciation. And to speak freely (as he went on) these "contests about the sounds of words are pedantic, and "more fitting for schoolmasters: we promise ourselves "some greater things from you, whom we have heard to "be well versed in all kind of philosophy. Nor would I "have you in so slight a matter provoke them here, that "of themselves are too apt to envy the praises of others." Smith acknowledged he counselled him well, and like a friend; and added, that he would wait till his money came; and if it chanced that he stayed any considerable time, seeing he was not bound to read there, he would sometimes, and according as he had leisure, consider upon these things.

And a Grecian.

Smith, still remaining in Paris, made a visit to a learned Greek, that sojourned at that time in Bernard's cloister, a courteous and affable man. His chief business with him was to be satisfied from him what sounds the Grecians

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A. D. 1539. Hen. VIII.

themselves in Greece did use. And by and by, when Smith began to speak of the new way, the Greek grew angry, and called Erasmus *badin*, (a French word, though otherwise he spake little French, and for the most part Italian,) that he being a Dutchman, had brought into Greece, whence they were sprung, such *vast sounds*, as he expressed himself, and *absonous diphthongs*. The dispute between them could not hold long, because Smith understood but little French, and the Greek gentleman not much more, but Latin he understood not at all. And when he spake Greek, although he was a very learned man, yet he stuffed in so much of his vulgar Greek, that Smith could not well understand him. And so he departed from him.

Travels to Italy.

From France our scholar proceeded forward towards Italy, and settled himself at Padua; studying there for some time in the civil law, to qualify him for state affairs, (for which the King designed him,) and went out in the same University Doctor of that faculty.

A. D. 1542. Made Regius Professor of the Civil Law.

Coming home, he retired to his old college a very accomplished person. In the year 1542, being now thirty years of age, he took the degree of Doctor of the Civil Law in Cambridge, and was made the King's Professor in that faculty, Wiggin being then the King's Professor of Divinity, Cheke of the Greek tongue, Wakefield of the Hebrew, and Blith, who had married Cheke's sister, of Physic[a].

A general scholar.

As Smith had sufficiently shewed himself a Grecian and an orator, so his large mind prompted him to make himself master of all other kinds of useful learning. And he was reckoned the best scholar in the University, not only for rhetoric and the learned languages, but for mathematics, arithmetic, law, natural and moral philosophy; as one of the same University before mentioned, and that was not long after him in time, sets out the common vogue he bore there:

[a] Among other honours and places conferred on him in the University, he was Vice-Chancellor 1542-3. *Full. Hist. Camb.*

Quis primus rhetor? Smithus. Quis maximus Hermes
Linguarum? Smithus. Geometres? Smithus et idem.
Summus arithmeticus? Smithus. Legumque peritus
Ante alios? Smithus. Physicus celeberrimus? Ohe!
Smithus multiscius. Morumque vitæque magister
Optimus? Et Smithus.

A. D. 1542. Hen. VIII. Musar. Lacrymæ.

Remaining in the University, he became Chancellor to Goodric, Bishop of Ely; who, being himself a learned man, and a favourer of the Gospel, chose such officers about him. Such another was Dr. Cox, who was his Chaplain; the same that was the first instructor to Prince Edward, and after Dean of Christ Church in Oxford, and Chancellor of that University; and at last Bishop of Ely, under Queen Elizabeth.

Chancellor to the Bishop of Ely.

Whilst Smith lived in the college, he spent not his time in sloth and ease, nor indulged himself to a lazy unprofitable life, but made himself useful and serviceable to the University in many respects. One was in breeding up young men in literature and good manners, being his pupils. Many of whom were of the best rank and quality. He was tutor to Edward Earl of Oxford, a nobleman who afterwards proved of excellent abilities and learning, but too much addicted to prodigality. Sir William Cecil, Master of the Wards and Liveries, took this young nobleman, being a ward, under his peculiar care: and in the family with him was also another Earl, namely of Rutland, being also a ward. And when in the year 1563 Dr. Smith (then a Knight) was the Queen's ambassador in France, the said Cecil wrote him how the former Earl, whom he styled *his scholar*, had learned to understand French very well; and that he was desirous to have an honest qualified Frenchman to attend upon him and the other Earl, for the exercise and speech of the tongue. He directed Smith, that he should be one honest in religion, civil in manners, learned in some science, and not unpersonable. And if he were worthy fifty or sixty crowns by year, he would be ruled by him, the said Smith. And withal he

Breeds up pupils.

CHAP. III.

A. D. 1542. Hen. VIII.

prayed him to provide some good rider for these noble wards, (which riders in those days commonly were Italians,) and he would give him twenty pounds by year, if Smith should so judge him worthy. And Sir Thomas was glad to be thus employed, to contribute to the generous education of all noble youth, for the good of the commonwealth, as well as of the Earl, that once had been his pupil. Under him also was bred John Ponet, that learned man, who wrote many excellent books, mathematical and other, became Chaplain to Archbishop Cranmer, and was preferred by King Edward VI. to be Bishop of Rochester, and after of Winchester [b].

Refines the English writing.

Smith was also, during his residence in Cambridge, a great refiner of the English writing; which to these times was too rough and unpolished, and little care taken thereof, as may be seen by such as converse in the writings of men even of learning in those days. He was noted to be one of the three there, that were the great masters of the English tongue. And so one of the floridest members of that University wrote to his correspondent John Sturmius at Strasburgh, upon occasion of a book he had wrote in English of the education of children, called *Præceptor*,

Ascham.

[b] Another bred under Smith, to whom he was tutor, was Richard Eden, an ingenious and learned man, who employed his mind much to navigation, and the knowledge of the most unknown parts of the world, especially the northern parts, that began to be discovered in those days by navigators: whose voyages he translated into English, if writ in other languages, and published, called his Decades. Among the rest he translated and set forth, anno 1561, a book of one of the learnedest mariners in the world in his time, a Spaniard, named Martin Cortes, entitled, The Art of Navigation, containing a compendious description of the sphere, with the making of certain instruments and rules for navigation. This book he dedicated to no less a person than the Emperor Charles V. and Eden the translator to Sir William Gerard, Knight, Thomas Lodge, alderman of London, and the Governors of the Honourable Fellowship, as well of certain of the Nobility as of Merchant Adventurers, for the discovery of lands, territories, islands, &c. unknown. Designing this translation, as he said, for the increase of skilful pilots, whereof then there were very few. This Art of Navigation (which seems to have been one of the first of this sort printed in the English tongue) was likely to beget some better store of English pilots.

i. e. *The Schoolmaster.* Which argument, he said, was not so dry and barren, *quin Anglice etiam ἀνθηρογραφεῖσθαι, possit, si in artificem aliquem, qualis fuit Checus noster, et sunt adhuc apud nos Smithus Haddonus incidisset:* "but it might have been written floridly in English, had "it happened upon some artist, such as Cheke was," (who now was gone,) "or Smith or Haddon," that still were with them at Cambridge: being a language very capable of all the ornaments both of words and sentences.

A tract by him writ for that purpose.

About or near this time it was, that Smith wrote a tract concerning correct writing of English, and the true sounding of the letters and words. That which he found fault with in our language was that ill and improper writing of it. As for instance in these words, *please, sonne, moone, hemme, cleane, to, toe, meane.* In which words, he said, those sounds are not comprehended which we express: and in some of them the syllables are stuffed with needless letters; which letters by themselves have their certain natures, as he observed, and that being joined after that manner, have not that force which they ought to have. And again, in other words, he took notice we had no letter which expressed that which we spake, and therefore he thought it necessary to have more letters. So he framed twenty-nine letters: whereof nineteen were Roman, four Greek, and six English or Saxon. The five vowels he augmented into ten, distinguishing them into long and short, making certain accents over, or on the side of them, that were to be pronounced long. It is worth seeing Smith's new alphabet, wherein might be observed that he allowed no diphthongs, nor double consonants, nor any *E's* at the end of words, being not sounded. He had a good mind to throw out utterly, and banish from the alphabet the letter *Q* as useless, *Ku* expressing the full power of *Qu*, for without the vowel *U*, the letter *Q* is never written. And the same uselessness he found to be in the letter *C*, for it is ever expressed either by *K* or by *S*. But he retained it in his alphabet to serve instead of *Ch*. This alphabet may be found in the Appendix. Num. II.

CHAP. III.

A. D. 1542. Hen. VIII.

Rectifies the pronunciation of Greek.

And as he promoted the refining of the use of the English tongue, so also of the Greek, together with Cheke, Professor also of that language after him; who laboured to amend and rectify the evil and false way of pronouncing divers consonants, vowels, and diphthongs. What this untoward way of reading Greek was, we may in part guess at by one word, *viz.* Κυβέρνω, which was commonly sounded *Chiverno:* wherein, as Ascham shewed to Hubert, a learned foreigner, in a dissertation with him upon this argument, there were no less than three erroneous soundings in three letters, κ, υ, β. In short, αι, οι, ει, & υι, & η, & υ, were not distinguished from the sound of ἰῶτα, but all had one and the same sound of I, as was shewn before.

A controversy arises in the University hereupon.

This proved a great academic controversy. For though for four years Smith's new way of reading Greek was quietly and gladly received, yet afterwards, by the means of some turbulent men, it received great opposition. And certain there were that began to make a great hubbub against it, and against Cheke, who was now by the King his master appointed his Reader of Greek. For to fetch the matter a little backward, about the year 1539, near the time of Smith's departure to travel, the King's Greek lecture was committed to Cheke. He, in the beginning of his lecture, the better to prepare the minds of his auditors to receive true benefit by his readings, declaimed for six days together concerning the more correct sound of letters. But on a sudden one Ratecliff, a scholar in the University, stood up and declared that he would oppose him; being instigated by such as had no more wit than himself. Cheke had no need to fear him, whom all knew understood little Greek, and whom none thought a man fit to be refuted, or dealt with as a considerable adversary. Yet some were for hearing him, to make sport. The magistrate, to whom the scurrility of the man was well known, thought he ought in time to be restrained. Nevertheless he went up to read somewhat, and having spoke a little, he was so laughed at by the boys, so exploded and hissed,

Cheke, Greek Lecturer.

and so tossed in the crowd which came together in a great assembly to laugh rather than to hear, that his own friends were ashamed of him; and he himself repented him of his folly; though he had but *little modesty and less brains*, according as Smith described him; for I have related all this from his book. But Ratecliff's setters-on brought this matter to Bishop Gardiner the Chancellor, and told the tale so fairly on his side, that the Bishop afterwards objected this man and his reading unto Cheke's party. "But," saith Smith, "his Lordship had never done "this, had they who named him to the Bishop declared "what kind of man he was, of what wit, of what nature, "of what prudence, gravity, modesty, and learning; that "is to say, none at all." After this fellow was gone, there was peace, quiet, and silence concerning these matters, and in great fervour and industry the youth of Cambridge learned Greek, until the Bishop's decree, which we shall hear of by and by.

A. D. 1542. Hen. VIII.

Frontis nihil et cerebri parum.

But all the blame of this new pronunciation lay upon Cheke. He was the man now cried out against as arrogant, proud, and daring, and guilty of high crimes; and the Chancellor rebuked him. And all the storm that light upon Smith all this while was, that he was accused to have been an abettor, and one that approved of Cheke's doings. But Smith was not afraid of all this noise, and generously took the thing upon himself, that he might take off some of the odium from his friend Cheke. And so he freely told the Chancellor [c], "I was his fellow and "partaker in this matter; nay, I was the head. I suffer "it not to be derived upon others, but I take it in a "great part to myself. And that, because as I have al-"ways esteemed it the part of a subdued and great mind, "to be negligent of glory and praise; so but a trick of

Cheke clamoured against for it.

[c] Quia moderati et magni animi esse putavi laudem ac gloriam negligere, perfidi et ignavi, amicum in periculis deserere. Humilem et dejectum hominem existimo, qui ex recte factis invidiam non posse ferre. Veteratorem ac senilis ingenii virum judico, qui cum ipse præstare possit, contegi se, ac suum factum, ab aliis patiatur defendi.

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A. D. 1542. Hen. VIII.

"treachery and sloth, to forsake a friend in danger. I "hold him of a mean and abject spirit, that cannot bear "the envy that attends worthy actions: and I judge that "man but a wily knave, who, when he can do it, will "conceal himself, and suffer others to defend what he "hath done."

The decree of the Chancellor.

Now did Bishop Gardiner, the Chancellor of the University, interpose his authority. For being against all innovation, as well as innovation in religion, and observing these endeavours in Cambridge, of introducing a more correct and true pronunciation of the Greek, and this, by such as he suspected to be no friends to the old Papal superstitions, he made a solemn decree against this new way, and that the old should be inviolably observed by all the scholars for the time to come. Cheke was very earnest with the Chancellor to allow of these rectified sounds, and supersede and wink at his former decree; but he would by no means alter it, and peremptorily enjoined him to read the Greek after the ancient rude way, urging to him the great evil and danger of innovation.

Smith's compliance.

About this time it was that Dr. Smith, upon this or some other occasion, repaired to the Bishop then at the Court at Hampton Court; and seeing his resolution, thought not fit to stir the coals, but after a mild and ingenious way told the Bishop, that for his part he could read both ways, the new and the old, that he might offend none for such a matter, as a particular mode of pronouncing was. That he knew, *balbutire, modo idem siquando usus sit expedite loquatur, etiam laudi dandum est;* that is, "That even stammering deserved praise, if so be he that "did so, when need was, would speak smoothly:" according to that of the Apostle, *I am debtor both to fools and wise.* Thus pleasingly did Smith comply with the Bishop, and yet tacitly gave him a reproof for his obstinate urging so blameworthy a thing, and checking so laudable an enterprise.

His epistle to the Bishop upon this argument.

Smith's mind still was the same. For when he came home, (which was about the month of July) he recollected

his discourse with the Bishop, and the Bishop's with him; and in a large and eloquent epistle, privately sent to him, argued with much freedom the points in controversy between them; which epistle (full of excellent learning) consisted of three parts. In the first he shewed what was to be called true and right in the whole method of sounds and pronunciation, and retrieved this from the common and present use, and out of the hands both of the ignorant and learned that lived at that time, and placed it with the ancients; restoring to them their right and authority, propounding them as the best and only pattern in the whole case of the Greek tongue to be imitated by all posterity. In the second he compared the old and the new pronunciation with that pattern, that the Chancellor might see whether of the two came nearer thereunto, or strayed farthest from it; that so by this, judgment might appear, what was to be corrected, and what followed. In the third part he explained by the story of the past time the whole account of his doing in this affair, that his Lordship might understand, that if there were nothing therein worthy to be commended, nothing at least deserved to be reproved; concluding with all deference and profound respect to this haughty man, (for his temper Smith very well knew,) in these words: "However the matter falls out, we will remain at your command. To your authority I shall ever "attribute as much as any student of law (as Smith was) "ought to give to a most learned Prelate, and Chancellor "of an University. And so much I shall yield unto your "arguments as the truth of the cause and the weight of "reasons shall require. But in every thing we shall according to our power maintain our duty to you, gently "respect and obey our magistrate, and ardently love your "Lordship. From Cambridge, August the 12th, 1542." This epistle he afterwards, while he was ambassador at Paris, caused to be printed there in quarto, anno 1568, entitled, *De recta et emendata Linguæ Græcæ Pronunciatione;* together with his other tract of the right sounding and

CHAP. III.

writing of English: both printed in Latin by Robert Stevens, the French King's Printer, in one volume.

A. D. 1542. Hen. VIII. A late Professor of Basil stands up for the old sounds.

To conclude this matter, I cannot omit to mention, that however correct this new way of pronouncing Greek was, and generally afterwards received, a late learned Professor of that language in Basil, named Wetsteene, made an oration in that University, lately printed, to confute it, and to revive the old exploded sounds.

Religion promoted by him in the University.

And as he was thus useful to learning in the University, so he was also to religion. He was bred up in the Protestant doctrine, (a pretty rare matter in those times,) and he never flinched from it. All his kindred of his father's side were neither neutrals nor Papists, (as he wrote somewhere of himself,) all inclining to the truth and Gospel, old and young, and so known and noted. This he wrote to some, because certain backbiters in King Edward's days had charged him to have been a neutral. The reason whereof seemed to be, because he did not run so fast in the Reformation under that King, as some Hotspurs would have him, who knew not what the matter meant. For he was publicly known to be a Protestant in the time of King Henry VIII. living then in Cambridge, and being there in place of eminence, when the Bishop of Winchester, the Chancellor of that University, was severe towards those that professed the Gospel, and threatened fire and faggot-bearing; Smith publicly defended them, and opposed those rigorous methods, and staved off many. And this he did before all Cambridge, and all the Justices of Peace in the shire, and saved many, and so continued. He stood up and pleaded for the professors and profession of the Gospel publicly, both in the University before all the learned men; and not only so, but in the Convocation before all the Bishops, and in the Parliament-house before the Lords and Commons, as he writ in vindication of himself.

A. D. 1546. And being a man of reputation among them, the University made use of him once as their messenger and ad-

vocate to the Court, to address to Queen Katharine Par; to whom he brought their letters, beseeching her intercession to the King on their behalf, being now, as they apprehended, in imminent jeopardy. For the Parliament in the thirty-seventh, that is, the last year of that King's reign, had given him all the colleges in the kingdom; whereat the University was sore afraid. Dr. Smith repaired to that good Queen, entreating her to prevail with his Majesty, that, notwithstanding the late act, they might enjoy their possessions as before. And she did, as she was a true lover and patroness of learning and religion, effectually apply to the King, and had her request in that behalf granted; and to that purport she wrote her letters to the University, of which Smith was also the bringer; wherein she called him their *discreet and learned advocate;* and having admonished them, that she would have their University to be an University of divine philosophy, as well as of natural or moral, she let them understand that she had, according to their desire, attempted her Lord the King's Majesty for the stay of their possessions; and, "that notwithstanding his Majesty's property and "interest through the consent of the High Court of Par- "liament, his Highness was such a patron of good learn- "ing, that he would rather add, and erect new occasion "therefore, than confound those their colleges. So that "learning might hereafter ascribe her very original, whole "conservation, and sure stay, to our Sovereign Lord," as she expressed herself.

A. D. 1456. Hen. VIII. He addresseth to the Queen in behalf of Cambridge.

In his public academical performances he acquitted himself with wonderful applause and admiration of all the hearers. And at a Commencement, which happened, as near as I can guess, this year, being now the King's Professor, both his disputations and his determinations were such, that Haddon, a good judge, in a letter to Dr. Cox, (giving him some account of that Commencement,) told him, "that had he been there, he would have heard an- "other Socrates; and that he caught the forward disput- "ants as it were in a net with his questions, and that he

His academical exercises.

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" concluded the profound causes of philosophy with great " gravity and deep knowledge [d]."

A. D. 1546. Hen. VIII. His preferments while at Cambridge.

Dr. Smith's places and preferments in Cambridge and elsewhere, as they brought him in tolerably fair incomes, so they, together with his eminent virtue and learning, reconciled him great respect. For he had the lecture in the civil law, being the King's Professor in that science; for which he received 40*l.* per annum. He was Chancellor to the Bishop of Ely, which was worth to him 50*l.* per annum. Besides, he had a benefice, *viz.* of Leverington in Cambridgeshire, which came to the value of 36*l.* per annum. So that his preferments amounted to 120*l.* a year, and upwards. And such a good husband he was, that he made some purchases before, and some soon after his leaving the University, as we shall hear by and by.

His port.

And this was the port he lived in before his leaving of Cambridge: He kept three servants, and three guns, and three winter geldings. And this stood him in 30*l.* per annum, together with his own board.

[d] Haddon also, in his Epistle to Cheke about the year 1547, gave this account of Smith: D. Smithus conserit inter nos literas omnis generis, Jus Civile docet, ad Philosophiæ causas accedit, Medicos etiam tentat novos nostros, exemplo D. Pauli fit omnibus omnia, fructum ut afferat omnibus. *Haddon. Epist.* p. 166.

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Smith is removed into the Protector's family: his preferments under King Edward: made Secretary: goes an embassy.

DOCTOR SMITH was often at King Henry's Court, and taken notice of by that King, and was growing so dear to him, as to be received in place and office under him, had he lived a little longer. But soon after King Henry's death he was removed from Cambridge into the Duke of Somerset's family; where he was employed in matters of state by that great man, the uncle and governor of the King, and Protector of his realms. Into whose family were received many other very learned and pious men. A. D. 1547. Edward VI. Comes to Court.

Long he had not been here, but the University earnestly addressed to him to stand their friend in some certain weighty matter, wherein not any single cause of theirs was in hazard, but themselves and their all: which, without question, was the danger the University was in upon the bill in agitation in the Parliament-house, for giving the King the chantries, hospitals, fraternities, and colleges; which last word took in the societies of the Universities. At which they looked about them, and made all the friends they could at Court to save themselves. And as they applied now to Cheke, so to Smith also in this elegant Latin epistle, which was drawn up by the exquisite pen of Ascham their orator; wherein may be observed what a general opinion there went of his complete learning: Addressed to by the University.

Si tu is es, Clarissime Smithe, in quem Academia hæc Cantabrigiensis universas vires suas, universa pietatis jura exercuerit, si tibi uni omnia doctrinæ suæ genera, omnia reipub. ornamenta libentissime contulerit, si fructum gloriæ suæ in te uno jactaverit, si spem salutis suæ Their letter.

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A. D. 1547. Edward VI.

in te potissimum reposuerit: age ergo, et mente ac cogitatione tua complectere, quid tu vicissim illi debes, quid illa, quid literæ, quid respublica, quid Deus ipse pro tantis pietatis officiis, quibus sic dignitas tua efflorescit, justissime requirit: Academia nil debet tibi, imo omnia sua in te transfudit. Et propterea abs te non simpliciter petit beneficium, sed merito repetit officium: nec unam aliquam causam tibi proponit, sed sua omnia, et seipsam tibi committit. Nec sua necesse habet aperire tibi consilia, quorum recessus et diverticula nósti universa. Age igitur quod scis, et velis quod potes, et perfice quod debes. Sic literis, academiæ, reipublicæ, et religioni; sic Christo et Principi rem debitam et expectatam efficies. Jesus te diutissime servet incolumem.

And this address had the success it desired; for the colleges of the Universities, and the other colleges of learning in the nation, were spared by a proviso, though the aforesaid bill passed into an act; which we must attribute, in good measure, to Smith and his party stirring in the House to bring it to pass.

Made Master of Requests to Somerset.

The Lord Protector had set up an office in his house of a Master of Requests, for the better care-taking of poor men's suits, and for the more effectual speeding them without the delays and charges of law. In this office was Dr. Smith placed, and seems to have been the second Master of Requests to the Protector, as Cecil was the first.

Other dignities conferred on him.

While he was in the service of this great Duke, he obtained divers other considerable places: as to be Steward of the Stannaries, Smith being an excellent metallist and chemist: Provost of [a]Eton College, wherewith he was very well pleased; where, whether he were present or absent, there was always good hospitality kept: Dean of the ca-

[a] He was made Provost of this college of Eton upon the resignation of Robert Bishop of Carlisle, by the donation of Henry Bishop of Lincoln, in the first year of King Edward. And his patent bore date January 3, 1547, which is still preserved at Hill-hall, in the possession of Sir Edward Smith, Bart.

thedral church of Carlisle, being at least in Deacon's orders: and at last, Secretary of State to the King, with a Knighthood.

A. D. 1547. Edward VI.

His purchases.

By this time he had purchased two houses; one in Channon-row, which he bought for two hundred marks of Sir Ralph Sadleir, sometime Secretary of State to King Henry, which he let to Mr. Comptroller for 30*l.* per annum. And here he lived himself in the reign of Queen Elizabeth: and this was the house where the Commissioners met in the first year of that Queen, to consult for the reformation of religion, and preparing the Book of Common Prayer. His other house was in Philpot-lane, London, where his younger brother, a merchant, lived. It was a large and fair house. He bought it of certain executors; but the title being doubtful whether the King had not a right in it, he procured of his lord the Duke to speak to the King in his behalf. To this house also another pretended. But the contest between Sir Thomas and that other was referred: and so in the end Sir Thomas enjoyed it. He also purchased the manor of Yarlington in Somersetshire, worth 30*l.* per annum, of the Marquis of Northampton, it being given to him at the coronation of Queen Katharine his sister. This cost Smith 300*l.* or thereabouts, being money that he had gotten at Cambridge, before he came into the Protector's service, and lent to his brother the merchant. Of the Commissioners for the chantries he also bought the college of Darby, which went at 33*l.* per annum, which cost him a thousand marks; which was the portion he had with his wife.

Marries.

For while he lived in the Duke's family he married [b] his first wife, named Elizabeth, daughter of William Karkek, or Carkyke, of London, gentleman; whose sister Anne after married to Sir Thomas Chamberlayn, long ambassador resident in Flanders and Spain. Smith's lady was a

[b] He married his first wife, here mentioned, in the year 1549, April 15, having the day before been made Secretary of State. This wife he buried August 3, 1553. His second wife he married July 23, 1554. She was daughter of William Wilford, of Lorie, gent.

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A. D. 1547. Edward VI.

little woman, and one that affected not fine gaudy clothes, for which she was taxed by some. And by this, one might rather judge her to have been a woman of prudence and religion, and that affected retirement rather than the splendour of a court. For Dr. Smith allowed her what she pleased; and she was his cash-keeper.

Marries again.

However, he used to wear goodly apparel, and went like a courtier himself. For which he said, that some might seem to have cause rather to accuse him to go too sumptuously, than her of going too meanly. This wife he buried, having no issue by her; and married a second, named Philippa, the relict of Sir John Hambden, who outlived him; whose jointure was Hill-hall. Of this wife it was that Secretary Cecil spake, when in the year 1565, Smith having been ambassador in France, and earnestly desiring to come home, the said Secretary wrote him word that his wife should either speak or send to the Earl of Leicester, that he would dispatch Mr. Thomas Hoby, whom the Queen had determined to send ambassador in his room, but delayed it.

He is slandered.

But we are yet to look upon Smith as one of the Protector's family; where he flourished in places and honours, as we heard before: yet he had his share of trouble and sorrow; as, the anger of his haughty mistress, the Duchess of Somerset, and many unjust imputations that were raised against him, whereto she gave too much credit: which was the cause of a large letter, which he addressed unto her; wherein he vindicated himself against many slanders which were told the Duchess; whereof she had twitted him in the teeth, as things the world took notice of in him: namely, 1. Haughtiness, and a disregardful proud temper. 2. That he was oppressive; and had, by extortion and griping, got a great deal of money. 3. Covetousness. 4. That he bought and sold benefices, or spiritual promotions. Add to these, that he was a chopper and changer of lands: that his wife went not in so courtly a garb as was fitting: that he kept no house: and, that he was a neuter in religion. But these were mere aspersions

and malicious insinuations; his generous mind ever abhorring any thing that was base and unjust, or unworthy of a man, and a Christian philosopher. And these calumnies he wiped off, assoiling one particular after another, in his said letter to the Duchess. Indeed, she was an imperious and ill-natured woman, and had taken some occasion to fall out with him; and in her passion, it seems, had cast out these reports before him. A. D. 1547. Edward VI.

But Smith was a true and faithful servant of the Duke; and in his troubles suffered with him: for he was taken up with him, and among those that were sent with the Duke to the Tower, Sir Thomas was one; though afterwards, his innocency appearing, he was delivered, and escaped those severe handlings that some of the Duke's friends and retainers underwent. Suffers imprisonment with the Duke.

In the year 1548 Dr. Smith was advanced to be Secretary of State; as in September the same year, William Cecil, Esq. was preferred to the like office, both having been servants to the Protector. Smith was made use of for the reformation of religion, which was now going in hand with in good earnest, as he was afterwards in all the steps of it. A. D. 1548. Made Secretary.

In the month of July, the same year 1548, he, with Mr. Chamberlain, went ambassador to Brussels, to the Emperor's council there: which was, I think, the first embassy he underwent. The business of the state, in sending him at this time, was, the great apprehensions from France, who had possessed themselves of Scotland, and so were a very formidable enemy; and the more so, because they were so near. But to provide against them as well as the King could, he endeavoured to stop them from the use of the ports of the Low Countries, which were most commodious for Scotland. Then Smith obtained so much from the Emperor's counsellors of the said Low Countries: though the promise was not so well made good; for in the latter end of this same year both French and Scots came from Scotland, and were landed and discharged at Dunkirk. Which caused another em- Goes ambassador.

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A. D. 1548. Edward VI.

bassy in January, by Sir Philip Hoby, from the English Court to the Emperor, complaining of this; and shewing how the Emperor's counsellors in the Low Countries had declared to Mr. Secretary Smith, at the Court there, that the French's going into Scotland, or returning thence, should have no manner of favour or reception at any of the Emperor's ports. This was one of the businesses of this embassy; but the chief matter indeed, and end thereof, was, for the raising of soldiers in those parts; which they did to the number of two thousand; and obtained the Emperor's leave for passing of them. There is a letter of Smith's, remaining in the Cotton library, to the Protector, while he was now ambassador at Brussels; wherein may be perceived the purport of his embassy, with other news of the affairs of the world; and was as ensueth: (and I the rather set it down, to preserve what monuments we can of this excellent man.)

Galba, B. 12.

Smith's letter to the Protector.

" Pleaseth it your Grace to be advertised,

" That we received your Grace's letters the xiith of " July, with the good news of the state of our things in " Scotland: for the which we most highly thank Al- " mighty God, and your Grace. And as we do not a little " rejoice at them ourselves, so we shall not fail to commu- " nicate them, as occasion shall occur, where it shall be " convenient. And surely, they here have espials in Scot- " land, as well as we, and be not ignorant of our affairs " there. Nevertheless, as they pretend at the least, they " be very glad to hear them of us. The rumour runneth " here still, that Mr. Chamberlain and an ambassador " came hither to take up men: and hereupon hath some " offer been made unto us; but such as we could not like.

" Yesterday came to us a certain Almain, who brought " to Yarmouth, I suppose, an ensign of footmen in the " King's days that dead is: he liked so well his pay then, " as he saith, he would gladly serve the King, before any " other prince. We said, winter was now very near; ne- " vertheless, if he would write his offer, we would advertise

" your Grace, and know further your pleasure. He is one " Groning in Frizeland. What your Grace's pleasure shall " be, that we shall answer him and all such, we require " your Grace to know, so soon as conveniently you may. " This man saith, if his request be too much, he will be " content your Grace shall mitigate it as shall please you. " He is of the land of Conte de Bury, and saith he hath " communicated the matter with Scepperius, [the Empe- " ror's admiral,] and he giveth him good comfort, that the " Queen [Regent of Flanders] will give him licence.

" Two merchants of Antwerp, lately coming from Au- " gust, [Augsburgh,] saith, that there the Emperor com- " pelleth every man, to this *interim;* and that some of the " cities grudging at it, he hath referred the answer to No- " renburgh: but that it is not doubted there, but that " Norenburgh will do as the Emperor will have them. " They shewed further, that the Emperor would have " them build up their monasteries again, and abbeys, and " all such things: and all standeth upon that answer of " Norenburgh. Further, the Emperor hath already sent " four thousand horsemen to lie about Strasburgh; and " that he doth intend shortly to come thither, and to as- " say the Switzers. Nevertheless, they said, that at this " Council was none of the Switzers, but only of B. [Berne, " or Basil.] They shewed also, that there was a saying " that the Emperor and the French King intended to part " the Switzers between them, of agreement, as they said: " but if that be, it is more like to make wars, than to " have any long amity after that sort, &c. Thus, having " none other thing worthy of advertisement to write to " your Grace, I commit the same to Almighty God.

" Your Grace's most bounden Orator and Servant,

" T. SMITH."

From Brussels, July 19th.

Our ambassador Smith came home again in September, leaving Chamberlain resident at that Court.

Smith concerned in

About this time, (or perhaps somewhat before,) letters

CHAP. IV.

passed between some counsellors, touching the weighty matter of altering the religion: and in this Smith was concerned; one of whose letters relating to this affair yet remains in the Paper-house.

A. D. 1548. Edward VI. the alteration of religion;

When base monies, as testons (coined in great quantities under King Henry VIII.) and other pieces, were, near this time, under consultation to be redressed, Smith also was made use of in this; and wrote a letter to the Lord Protector, touching the benefit arising by the Mint, while such monies were coined, to give the better light unto this work that was now going in hand with [a].

And redress of base money.

[a] And according to the advice of Smith for good sterling money to be coined, those coarse teston pieces were forbidden to be coined. And in 1547 a prohibition was sent to William Sharington, of the Mint, to forbear coining any more of them; though he, notwithstanding, for his own gain, did coin these testons in May, June, and July that year, to a great sum. This man had also committed many other abuses and deceits in the coinage; as in the clippings and shearing of the monies he defrauded the King to above 4000*l.* value, and made his monies too light out of the remedy. And when the month's doings or books were brought to him, he used every month to strike out as much as he thought good: and to conceal this, he falsified the indentures of the coinage, and burnt all such books and indentures as might have charged him. These deceits of Sharington were found out, and he being committed to the Tower, the Earls of Shrewsbury and Southampton, with Secretary Smith, were sent to examine him there, who confessed all, and submitted himself. The confession and submission was drawn up by Smith's hand; to which Sharington subscribed: and the two Earls and Smith set their hands as witnesses. This was taken in the Tower, February 2, 1548. [anno forte incipiente.]

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Sir Thomas Smith in commission: words between Bishop Bonner and him: his fidelity to the Duke of Somerset.

IF we trace Sir Thomas Smith in the ensuing year, *viz.* 1549, we shall find him employed in certain commissions of importance. A. D. 1549. Edward VI.

An ecclesiastical commission in the beginning of this year was issued out, for the examination of Anabaptists and Arians, that began now to spring up apace and shew themselves more openly. Sir Thomas was one of these commissioners, (for he was much employed in the matters of religion,) jointly with the Archbishop of Canterbury; Thirlby, Bishop of Westminster; Dr. Cox, Dean of Westminster; Dr. May, Dean of St. Paul's; and Dr. Cooke, Dean of the Arches; who sat in judgment upon divers of these heretics in that part of St. Paul's Church commonly called *the Altar of our Lady*. Smith in a commission against Anabaptists.

A visitation being instituted this summer by the King for the University of Cambridge, he was appointed one of the visitors, in conjunction with Ridley, Bishop of Rochester; May, Dean of St. Paul's; Sir John Cheke, and Dr. Wendy, the King's physician. The business of this visitation was to abolish such statutes and ordinances as maintained Papistry, superstition, blindness, and ignorance, and to establish and set forth such as might further God's word and good learning: our Smith, with the Dean of St. Paul's, a little before Easter acquainted Bishop Ridley with it, by sending him a letter to Rochester, and desiring him to make a sermon at the opening of the said visitation. One of the visitors of Cambridge.

Another commission, dated in September, from the King, was issued out to Sir Thomas Smith, together with four more; the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Rochester, Sir William Petre, and May Dean of St. Paul's; In commission upon Bishop Bonner.

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to take trial and examination of Bonner, Bishop of London, for certain incompliances and disobediences to the King's proceedings in religion. Sir Thomas was able and bold, and one that sincerely wished well to a reformation of corrupt religion. This commissioner, of all the rest, Bonner seemed most to regret, and set himself in opposition against. His first quarrel against him was, that because he sat not at the beginning, when the commission was first opened and read, therefore he ought not to be a commissioner at all. For by the law, said Bonner, they that first began, must continue the commission. But Smith told him, that as cunning as he made himself in the law, for his part he had studied the law too, and that these were but quiddities and quirks invented to delay matters. But the commission was to proceed summarily, *et de plano*, and to cut off all frivolous allegations. And when at this same session the Bishop demanded somewhat of the commissioners upon pretence of law, that was not convenient to be granted, Secretary Smith, seeing that his device was merely to defer and elude the main business, told him plainly, he asked he knew not what, and that the Bishop would have had them to humour him, and to be led according to his mind in these quiddities; whereas all was for no other intent but to delay justice: and that herein he did all one with thieves, murderers, and traitors, that the truth might not be known, to prevent their shame and condemnation. Which plain-dealing did more and more provoke that proud Bishop. And those expressions of the Secretary he could never forgive, but was continually pelting at him, and declining him as none of his judge.

Bonner would decline him.

Smith deals roundly with him.

The great intent of this commission was to examine him concerning a sermon, which was appointed him by the Council to preach touching the King's authority in his tender age to administer the government and make laws. In which the Bishop prevaricated, not speaking home to that necessary point to the satisfaction of the people, but running out upon the subject of the *real presence*. Con-

cerning which, when the commissioners could not bring him to confess whether in that sermon he omitted that article or no, shifting it off by his uncertain speeches, other articles were drawn up for him to answer to by oath: which Smith told him he must not dally with as he had done hitherto. And that though he had made his answers by writing after his wary and obscure way, yet now he should be examined by them, and make answer by mouth to the same article, or do that which was worse, namely, go to the Tower. "I do not indeed," added he, "discommend your protestations and terms of law, if it "were in a young proctor in the managing of his client's "cause; but in you it may not be suffered so to use the "King's commissioners."

Smith's words to Bonner's servant.

When the Bishop was next to appear before the commissioners, he sent two of his servants to excuse his not coming before them by reason of sickness. But the Secretary knowing well his former ways of delay and baffling the commissioners, doubted of the truth hereof: and therefore told the messengers roundly, that because he should not deceive them as he had done, they would send the knight-marshal unto him, who should have order, if he were sick indeed, to let him alone; for that, he said, was a reasonable excuse: but if he were not sick, to bring him forthwith; for that he should not do as he had done, nor would they take it at his hands. "Mr. Johnson," added the Secretary, (he was one of the Bishop's servants that brought his message,) "you do the part of a trusty ser-"vant as becomes you; but it is your part also to shew "my Lord of his stubborn heart and disobedience, which "doth him more harm than he is aware of. What? Doth "he think to stand with the King in his own realms? Is "this the part of a subject? Nay, I ween, we shall have "a new Thomas Becket. Let him take heed, for if he "play these parts, he may fortune to be made shorter by "the head." And, whereas the Bishop was all for disowning these commissioners, and appealing from him, the Secretary subjoined, "He may appeal, if he think good. But

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"whither? To the Bishop of Rome? So he may help "himself forwards. I say, he can appeal but to the same "King who hath made us his judges, and to the bench of "his Council. And how they will take this matter, when "they hear of it, I doubt not. He would make men be- "lieve that he were called before us for preaching his "opinion of the Sacrament. Wherein I assure you he did "but falsely and naughtily, yea, and lewdly, and more than "became him, and more than he had in commandment to "do. For he was not willed to speak of that matter, and "perhaps he may hear more of that hereafter: but at pre- "sent that was not laid to his charge."

Bonner enters a recusation against Smith.

Sir Thomas thus using to deal with him, in many sessions held for his examination, and not suffering him to dally out the matter, and sometime taking the liberty to reprove him, the Bishop at last made a solemn, large, and formal recusation of this commissioner's judgment; exhibiting it in writing at his next appearance; which may be read at length in Mr. Fox's Acts and Monuments. In which recusation, Bonner shewed, how the Secretary had charged him with dealing with the commissioners as thieves, murderers, and traitors would have done. But notwithstanding this recusation, the Secretary told him, that he would proceed in his commission, and would be his judge still, until he were otherwise inhibited. "And "where you say," proceeded Smith, "in your recusation, "that I said you did like thieves, murderers, and traitors; "indeed I said it, and may well say so again, since we "perceive it by your doings." Whereto the Bishop in a great rage replied, "Well, sir, because you sit here by vir- "tue of the King's commission, and for that you be Se- "cretary to his Majesty, and also one of his Highness's "Council, I must and do honour and reverence you: but "as you be Sir Thomas Smith, and say as you have said, "I do like thieves, murderers, and traitors, I say you lie "upon me; and in that case I defy you in what you can do "to me; I fear you not. And therefore, *Quod facis, fac ci-* "*tius.*" The Secretary told him, "He should know there

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"was a King." "Yea," said the Bishop, "and that is not "you." "No, sir," said the Secretary again, "but we will "make you know who is." And so in fine, for carrying himself so irreverently towards the King's commissioners, and especially towards Sir Thomas Smith the King's Secretary, the Knight-marshal was called in, and the Bishop committed to him. And the Secretary commanded him to take and keep him, that none might come at him; for if he did, he should set by him himself.

Smith chargeth him with disobedience.

At another session Secretary Smith did burden him, how disobediently and rebelliously he had always carried himself towards the King's Majesty and his authority. To which the Bishop replied, "that he was the King's law- "ful and true subject, and did acknowledge his Highness "to be his gracious Sovereign Lord." "Yea," answered the Secretary, "you say well, my Lord; but I pray you, "what else have all these rebels in Norfolk, Devon, and "Cornwall done? Have they not said thus, *We be the "King's true subjects; we acknowledge him for our King, "and we will obey his laws*, and the like? And yet, when "either commandment, letter, or pardon was brought to "them from his Majesty, they believed it not; but said it "was forged under a hedge, and was gentlemen's doings." "I perceive your meaning," said the Bishop again, "as "who should say, the Bishop of London is a rebel like "them." "Yea, by my troth," said the Secretary. Whereat the standers by fell into a laughter. How this Bishop was afterwards deprived and committed, and how he protested and appealed, may be seen in other historians.

In trouble with the Protector.

In October the Duke of Somerset, the Protector, received a terrible shock; almost all the Privy Counsellors making a defection from the Court, and meeting in London, combined together against him; so that he at last was imprisoned, and lost all his places, honours, and lands. There were only three then stuck to him in this time of adversity, *viz.* Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir William Paget, and our Sir Thomas Smith. Between whom and the Lords at London letters passed upon this affair,

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carried by Sir Philip Hoby. The peril they ran was not a little: for the Lords wrote to them, that it seemed strange to them, that they should either assist, or suffer his Majesty's royal person to remain in the guard of the Duke of Somerset's men, and that strangers should be armed with the King's own armour, and be nearest about his person, and those to whom the ordinary charge was committed to be sequestered away. And the Lords sent them word moreover, that if any evil came thereof, they must expect it must be imputed to them. And whereas the Archbishop, Paget, and Smith, in their letter to the Lords told them, *they knew more than they* [the Lords] *knew;* at those words they took this advantage, as they returned them answer, "That if the matters that came to their "knowledge, and were hidden from them [the Lords] "were of such weight as they pretended, or if they "touched or might touch his Majesty, or his state, they "[the Lords] thought that they did not as they ought to "do, in not disclosing the same to them, [the whole "Council.]" In fine, being overpowered, Smith, together with the Archbishop and the Comptroller Paget, sent another letter from Windsor, (where the King and they were,) that they would not fail to endeavour themselves according to the contents of the Lords' letters; and that they would convene together when and where the Lords pleased. This was a notable instance of Smith's fidelity to the Duke his old master, who stuck thus to him as long as he durst, and was then glad to comply as fairly as he could. And, if I mistake not, now did some storm fall upon Sir Thomas: and I believe he was deprived of his place of Secretary [a]. For at this time it appears by the

[a] It is certain, as was there conjectured, that Sir Thomas Smith lost his place of Secretary at that time. For by King Edward's Journal it appears that Wotton was made Secretary in October 1549, upon the first disgrace of the Duke of Somerset, when Smith suffered with him: for when the Council committed the Duke to the Tower, eight more of his friends and dependants were committed with him, whereof Sir Thomas Smith was one. The others were Sir Mich. Stanhope, Sir John Thin, ——— Wolf, William Grey, Sir Ralph Vane, Thomas Fisher, Richard Palladey. (*Titus*, B. 2. a volume in the Cotton

King's Journal, that Dr. Wotton was made Secretary. Though he seemed soon to be restored again.

A. D. 1550. Edward VI. Smith deposed against Gardiner. Acts and Monum. 1st edit.

In the year 1550, Sir Thomas was summoned a witness, together with a great many other noblemen and gentlemen of the Court, in the great trial of Gardiner Bishop of Winton. He was sworn against him in the month of February, being then thirty-three years of age, as it is set down in his deposition [by an error of the printer for thirty-nine.] By which it appeareth, that in the year before, *viz.* 1549, Smith, then Secretary, was divers times sent by the Lord Protector to the said Bishop, to travail with him to agree to the King's proceedings, and that he would promise to set them forth in a sermon, or otherwise: and that he often did, in the company of Mr. Cecil, repair to him for that purpose. That Smith and the said Cecil, by command of the said Council, drew up certain articles, to which the Bishop should shew his consent, and to preach and set forth the same. And that after several attendances upon the Bishop to bring him to this, and upon some hope of conformity thereto, the Lords of the Council sent for him to the palace at Westminster. After that was the Lord Wiltshire sent to him, to whom he shewed some conformity herein. Soon after that Lord

library.) And in September 1550 he (Wotton) gave up the office, and Mr. Cecil came in. As by the Council Book it is recorded, *viz.* "That September 5, Mr. Wil. Cecil was sworn Secretary in the sted of Mr. Wotton, "and Mr. Wotton by the King's order still to remain in the Council."

The other Secretary was Petre. For September 6 (saith the Council Book) Mr. Secretary Petre, and Mr. Secretary Cecil, and Mr. Wotton, sat in Council. Whence it appears, that Sir Thomas Smith was not then Secretary. For there were but two principal Secretaries of State. And so we may conclude Smith was not restored again after his former dismission, as I had supposed he was. For the two before specified Secretaries continued all that reign, save that they had a third added to them, and sworn June 2, 1553, who was Sir John Cheke.

Neither was he, Smith, Secretary anno 1551, when he went over in the great embassy to France, as may be clearly collected from the King's Journal; which mentioning those that were sent, among the rest nameth Smith that *was* Secretary; that is, that was not at present so, but as having been in that place formerly.

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went again, accompanied with Smith, to know his final resolution; to whom he shewed great readiness to set forth the articles aforesaid in his sermon, yet prayed not to be tied to the same words; in which the Council at length yielded to him. And thus was Secretary Smith employed in that affair; in which he carried himself, it seems, with so much discretion and moderation towards that haughty Bishop, that afterwards, in his prosperity under Queen Mary, he was a friend to him, when he was such a bloody enemy to all Protestants besides.

Makes a purchase.

In this same year, 1550, he made [b] a purchase of the King of the whole manor of Overston, alias Oveston, in the county of Northampton, parcel of the possessions called Richmond lands, and divers other lands, tenements, and hereditaments in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Bucks, Surry, and Hertford; for which he gave 414*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.* and other lands in Derby and Middlesex. The yearly value of this purchase was 87*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.*

A. D. 1551. Goes in embassy to France

In the year 1551, the 30th of April, Sir Thomas Smith, still under the name of Secretary, was appointed one of those that were to go in that great and splendid embassy to France, with a commission of treaty concerning a match for the King with that King's eldest daughter, at the same time the Marquis of Northampton went with the Order of the Garter to the said King; with whom was joined in commission the Bishop of Ely, Sir Philip Hoby, Sir William Pickering, and Sir John Mason: these two leiger ambassadors there, and two lawyers, whereof Smith was one [c].

[b] In the Council Book there is an order, whether about his purchase in this page mentioned, or some other, I know not. Which order was thus: "June "28. Granted by the King upon the declaration therof by the Privy Coun- "cil, that Sir Tho. Smith, Kt. as wel for his mony already paid for 28*l.* "land, as for 35*l.* land to be exchanged, shal have lands of the King's Ma- "jesty to the value of 63*l.* a year."

[c] Sir Thomas this year, 1551, and as it seems after his return from France, repaired to his deanery of Carlisle, where some things were to be set in order, and some abuses rectified, and particularly about the Chapter's distribution of charity to the poor; to which an order of the Council seemed to refer, where

it is thus set down: "An order was sent from the Councel to Sir Tho. "Smith, Dean of Carlile, willing him, notwithstanding a letter addrest to "him of late for the stay of certain mony, which they there of the Chapter "are bound to distribute to poor folks, and upon high ways, that he shall "now henceforth procede to the bestowing therof according to the antient "statuts made among them on that behalf."

Smith, though not Secretary, yet seems all this reign to be much about the Court, and employed in state-matters there. In September 1552, when two lawyers came in commission from France, upon a grievous complaint made by the English merchants, of damages and wrongs done them on the seas by the French, they having shewed the Privy Council eloquently what was doing in France for the satisfaction of our merchants, the Council referred them to Secretary Petre, Mr. Wotton, and Sir Thomas Smith; who then declared the griefs of the merchants, and their losses to amount to 50,000*l.* and upwards. *K. Edw. Journal.*

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The condition of Sir Thomas Smith under Queen Mary. His wise advertisements.

A. D. 1553 —1557. Q. Mary. He loses all his places.

SIR THOMAS passed the reign of King Edward in great reputation and prosperity. But upon the access of Queen Mary to the crown, as many of the deceased King's ministers of state, especially such as favoured religion, were cast of, so were the two Secretaries, Sir William Cecil and Sir Thomas Smith. And besides the loss of that honourable station, he was deprived also of what he held in the Church. For he was a spiritual person also; and so was invested by the late King with the Provostship of Eton and the Deanery of Carlisle. And to spoil him of these and other places with the more formality, he was summoned to appear before certain persons, whom the Queen had commissionated for these purposes, together with Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. May, Dean of St. Paul's. He fell easy, for his life was saved, though he were a Protestant, and had 100*l.* per annum allowed him for his subsistence; but was charged not to depart out of the realm. Which favourable handling no doubt was obtained for him by some great friends at this Court: a sign of the great esteem they had of his worth. Such was his good fortune in those hard times, when so many of his friends, and the fast professors of religion, suffered most sharply. Dr. Henry Cole (afterwards Dean of St. Paul's) succeeded him in the Provostship of Eton, and Dr. John Boxal in the place of Secretary of State, as Sir John Bourn succeeded Cecil, the other Secretary. And so he made a shift to pass through this dangerous reign in safety, following his studies and contemplations in his native country of Essex, at his house of Hill-hall there. And when many on all hands of him were most cruelly burnt alive for the profession of that religion which he held, he escaped, and was saved even in the midst of the fire:

which probably he might have an eye to in changing the crest of his coat of arms, which now was a salamander living in the midst of a flame; whereas before it was an eagle holding a writing pen flaming in his dexter claw, as may still be seen upon a monument of his ancestors in Walden church, and likewise in another monument in the church of Greensted in Essex, set up to the memory of his sister, who married Wood of Broadlane in Kent.

Smith hath indulgence from the Pope.

But, which is strange, he acted his part so dexterously in these difficult times, that even his enemy the Pope sheltered him under his bull for many transgressions of his own laws. For in the year 1555, one William Smythwick, of the diocese of Bath, Esq. had obtained a very large indulgence from Rome; for which, no question, the said gentleman was very liberal, which caused that Court to shew herself so liberal again. It was, that he and any five of his friends whom he should nominate, (excepting regulars,) such as were married, and their children of both sexes, should enjoy many extraordinary indulgences upon his petition to the Pope, who then was Paul IV. Which petition was graciously accorded to by that Pope, and the bull ran for indulgence to Smythwick, and his five friends and their children, (as was petitioned,) *A quibusvis excommunicationis, suspensionis et interdicti, aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis, censuris et pœnis, a jure vel ab homine quavis occasione vel causis latis, ac votorum quorumcunque et Ecclesiæ mandatorum transgressionibus, perjuriorum et homicidii casualis vel mentalis reatibus, manuum violentarum in quasvis personas ecclesiasticas, non tamen Prælatos de præterito, injectionibus, jejuniorum, horarum canonicarum ac divinorum officiorum et pœnitentiarum injunctarum in toto vel in parte omissionibus; nec non ab omnibus et singulis eorum peccatis de quibus contriti fuerint et confessi, etiamsi essent talia propter quæ foret sedes Apostolica consulenda*, &c. that is, "From "all sentences of excommunication, suspension, and inter- "dict, and other censures ecclesiastical, upon whatever oc- "casion or cause inflicted, transgressions of any vows or

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A. D. 1553 —1557. Q. Mary.

"commands of the Church, guilt of perjuries and of homi-
"cide, whether casual or mental, laying violent hands upon
"any ecclesiastical persons, excepting Prelates *de præter-*
"*ito*, omissions in whole or in part of fasts, canonical
"hours, divine offices, penances enjoined: also from all and
"singular their sins, whereof they are contrite and con-
"fessed, although they were such for which the Apostolic
"see were to be consulted." Likewise many other indulgences were by virtue hereof granted; as, to have a portatile altar, to receive the Sacrament privately; that in Lent and in other fasting times of the year they might eat eggs, butter, cheese, and other milk-meats and flesh, without scruple of conscience. Smythwick chose Sir Thomas Smith for one of his five friends specified in the bull, to be partaker of these Catholic privileges. And so it is expressed in an instrument drawn out and attested by Thomas Willet, public notary; which still remains in the possession of Sir Edward Smith, of Hill-hall, Baronet. *Dict. Smythwick discretum et præclarum virum Dominum Thom. Smith de Hill-hall Lon. diœces. Militem, et Dominam Philippam uxorem ejus, eorumque liberos, nominavit, constituit, admisit, acceptavit, &c. pro primis personis de quinque personis, ut præfertur per eum nominand. ad libere liciteque utend. et gaudend. omnibus et singulis in ipsis literis sive brevi Apostolico concess. indult. &c.* This, no question, was a good screen for Sir Thomas in these evil days.

Bishop Gardiner his friend.

If any still should wonder how Sir Thomas escaped so well, who had been so much employed in the former reign in the proceedings of religion, and had so heartily set them forward; and withal had assisted in a commission, wherein Bonner Bishop of London was deposed, a man of such a wrathful temper; his safety was in a great measure owing to that deference that that stern and cruel Bishop Gardiner, now Lord Chancellor, had to his exemplary virtue and learning: he was struck with a kind of admiration of the man, pretending a great love to him: and would swear, that he among all the rest of the heretics de-

served only to live, and to be preferred for his deep wisdom and judgment, and the heroical sentiments of his mind. This is elegantly described to us by the poet that dedicated the Muse's Tears to his funeral:

Quique alios rabido laniavit dente fideles,
Subdolus antistes Stephanus, cognomine Vulpes,
Unius ingenio, literis, gravitate virili
Sic perculsus erat; mentisque heroica sensa
Sic venerabatur, non solum ut parceret illi,
Sed magnum præ se veterator ferret amorem:
Et solum hæreticos inter, vitaque locoque
Dignum aliquo, propter summum juraret acumen.

Smith gains Gardiner's favour upon his first address to him from Cambridge.

And I am apt to think, that Smith gained the point in Bishop Gardiner's affection in the year 1542, upon his first address in that year: when being a man of eminency in Cambridge, he waited upon him at Hampton Court about the difference, as it seemed, concerning the right pronouncing of the Greek. When Thomas Smith had been the great reformer of the old corrupt way of reading that language, and that Bishop the Chancellor of the University utterly against introducing the new correct way; yet Smith carried himself with so much facility and obsequiousness to him in that regard, that it took much with him. And upon his return back to Cambridge, though he took the freedom to write a large letter to the said Chancellor, arguing against the decree he had lately made, to forbid the new way, and to continue the old; yet it was with extraordinary compliment to him of his high worth, learning, prudence, and acuteness; beginning his letter after this obliging manner:

"Right Reverend and most worthy Prelate,

"Great was the pleasure I took in your discourse with "me, when I was the other day at Hampton Court to "wait upon you, partly out of duty, and partly to consult "with you. For that which I had before learned by fame

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" only and hearsay of your wisdom, being then present, I " understood by experience; and that your Lordship was " endued not only with very great skill and insight in the " weighty affairs of state, but also in these light and li- " terary controversies, with an incredible sharpness, and " an excellent facility and plenty, joined with a wonderful " obligingness, while you are disputing and arguing, &c."

He concludes his letter with a protestation of entire obedience to his Lordship's order, however he should determine for or against his desire; and that he would submit to his authority, being the authority of a reverend Prelate and a very learned Chancellor. From hence I date the respect and love Smith gained with this Bishop.

Ascham favoured by Gardiner.

This must be remembered to this Bishop's commendation, among the many evil things that asperse and blacken his name to this day. Nor must the like favour, or a greater, be forgotten by him, shewn to such another learned and grave Protestant, friend and cotemporary with Smith, I mean Roger Ascham, which I must have leave to mention here; whom the Bishop of Winchester did not only spare, but called to Court, and preferred to be Secretary of the Latin tongue to Queen Mary. Whom for his learning in the languages, and incomparable faculty of a clean style and beautiful writing, he greatly loved, and obliged with many benefits. And when Sir Francis Englefield, Master of the Wards and Liveries, a fierce Papist, had often cried out upon Ascham to the Bishop, as an heretic, and fit to be rejected and punished as such, he never would hearken to him, either to punish him or remove him from his place. Thus lived two excellent Protestants, under the wings, as it were, of the sworn enemy and destroyer of Protestants, Ascham, and Smith, to whom we now return again.

And Bishop Bonner pretends to be Smith's friend.

Nay, and bloody Bonner, who had a personal pique against him since the last reign, as was shewn before, let him alone, though he were in his diocese, admiring the man, and dissembling his anger.

Nec Bonerus eum non admiratus, amici
Vultum hominis tantas inter simulaverat iras.

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Anno 1557. Q. Mary.

Robert Smith, a retainer of Sir Thomas Smith, burnt.

But though he thus escaped this man, yet another of his name, who was also a retainer to him at Eton when Provost there, fell into his hands, whom he left not till he had reduced him into ashes; namely, Robert Smith, who was burnt at Uxbridge in the year 1555. This Robert belonged to the church of Windsor, and had a clerkship there of 10*l.* a year. Of stature he was tall and slender, active, and very ingenious for many things, chiefly delighting in the art of painting, which for his mind's sake, rather than for a living or gain, he practised and exercised. He was smart and quick in conversation, and fervent in religion, wherein he was confirmed by the preachings and readings of Mr. Turner, Canon of Windsor, and others. In his examinations before Bishop Bonner, he spake readily and to the purpose, and with no less boldness, and gave that Prelate his own. He was also a good poet according to the poetry of those times; some pieces whereof remain in Fox's Monuments: and his parts and elegancy of style, as well as his piety Godward, may be judged of by his sententious letter to his wife from prison, a little before his death; which may be seen in Fox, beginning, Page 1544.
"Seek first to love God, dear wife, with your whole heart,
"and then shall it be easy to love your neighbour. Be
"friendly to all creatures, and especially to your own soul.
"Be always an enemy to the Devil and the world, but
"especially to your own flesh. In hearing of good things
"join the ears and heart together. Seek unity and quiet-
"ness with all men, but especially with your conscience;
"for he will not easily be entreated. Hate the sins that
"are past, but especially those to come. Be as ready to
"further your enemy, as he is to hinder you," &c. It was remarkable at his death, that his body well nigh half burnt, and all in a lump like a black coal, he suddenly rose upright, and lifted up the stumps of his arms, and

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clapped the same together, and so sunk down again and died. And this was the more to be remarked, because he had at the stake said to those that stood about him, that they should not think amiss of him or his cause, though he came to that end; and that they would not doubt but his body, though so to be consumed presently to ashes, yet dying in that quarrel, should rise again to life everlasting; and added, that he doubted not God would shew some token thereof.

Anno 1557. Q. Mary.

His grief at these times.

Smith, in these days of Queen Mary, was removed off the stage of action, being now but a silent stander-by. And here he saw the pitiful burning of poor men and women for religion, the marriage with Spain, the loss of Calais, and the reduction of the kingdom to the lowest ebb, both in wealth and reputation, that it had been in for some hundreds of years before: which things went close to his heart, and out of the love he had to his native country filled him with vexation, nay, and shame, to behold. Hear his own words, reflecting upon these times in one of his private discourses framed in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign: "We kept Calais two hundred years and "odd in the French ground, in spite of all the French "kings which have been since that time, in all the civil "wars, and the most pernicious dissensions that ever "were, either in King Henry the Fourth, the Sixth, Ri- "chard the Third, or Henry the Seventh, their times. In "King Henry the Eighth's time we wan also to it Bouloign "and Bouloignois. I do assure you, for my part, if I may say "what I think, I question, if I should have lived through "five hundred years heretofore past, I should have seen "England at any time weaker in strength, men, money, "and riches, than it was in the time when we wrote *King* "*Philip and Queen Mary*, King and Queen of so many "kingdoms, dukedoms, marchionates. For all those wily "titles, our hearts, our joy, our comfort was gone. As "much affectionate as you note me to be to my country "and countrymen, I assure you I was then ashamed of

Oration about Queen Elizabeth's marriage.

"both.——What decay came that time to the substance "of the realm, and riches both public and private, it "should be no less pity than needless to tell."

I am sorry I can retrieve so little of this worthy man, during these five years of Queen Mary, which he spent in leisure and retirement. However, I have retrieved a paper wrote by him in the year 1557, that deserves here to be set down, entitled,

Smith's wise advertisements and counsels.

Advertisements and counsels very necessary for all noblemen and counsellors, gathered out of divers authors both Italian and Spanish.

1. Tell not all that you think, nor shew all that you have, nor take all that you desire, nor say all that you know, nor do all that you can: for lightly shall he lose the favour of his Prince that followeth the commandment of his lusts, and restraineth not them with the bit of reason.

2. Beware you put not fortune in trust with those things that appertain to your person, honour, substance, or conscience: for the nobleman which is wise will not hazard himself, in hope to have relief at her hands as often as he shall need.

3. Although all men promise to help you if you had need, yet nevertheless trust not too much thereto. Many of them which now do offer to take armour for your sake, if occasion be offered, will be the first to strike you, to give you the overthrow.

4. In other men's cases meddle not too much, nor in your own enforce not time: for governing you so, you may remain in the good estate you be, or else may easily happen to utter what you were.

5. The danger of noblemen is like to them that be in the top of high and sharp mountains, whence they cannot descend but fall: wherefore procure unto yourselves such faithful friends, as will rather stay you from falling, than such as will reach unto you their hands to help you up, when you be down.

6. Do good while you have power thereunto, and never

CHAP. VI.

Anno 1557. Q. Mary.

do hurt though you may: for the tears of the offended, and the complaints of the grieved, may one day have place in the sight of God to move him to chastise you, and also be occasion to make the Prince to hate you.

7. Bestow your benefits and offices rather upon the good, than upon your friends: for among your friends it is lawful to depart your goods, but not your conscience.

8. In that you counsel be not affectionate, in that you discounsel be not passionate. Whatsoever you do, do advisedly. For although in the courts of princes, every man beholdeth the worthiness and nobility of the person; yet the more noble a man is, the more is he noted, marked, and hated of others.

9. If you will not err in your counsels, nor stumble in your actions, embrace them that tell you truth, and hate them that flatter you: for much more ought you to love them that advise you, than those that will seem to pity you, when you are in danger.

10. Have always in memory the benefits you have received of others, and enforce yourselves to forget such injuries as others have done unto you.

11. Esteem much that little of your own, and regard not the abundance of others.

12. Endeavour yourself to do good to all men, and never speak evil of them that be absent.

13. Jeopard not the loss of many things for the gain of one thing; neither adventure the loss of one thing certain for many things doubtful.

14. Make much of your dearest friends; and do not procure any enemies.

15. Exalt not the rich tyrant, neither abhor the poor which is righteous. *This hath a line drawn through it by the pen of Sir Thomas Smith himself, as it seems, fearing perhaps some misconstruction of his words, which might draw him into danger under this jealous government of Queen Mary.*

16. Deny not justice unto the poor because he is poor, neither pardon the rich because he is rich.

17. Do not good only for love, neither chastise only for hatred.

18. In evident cases abide not the counsel of others; and in doubtful cases determine not of yourself.

19. Suffer not sin unpunished, nor well-doing without reward.

20. Deny not justice to him that asketh, nor mercy to him that deserveth it.

21. Chastise not when thou art angry, neither promise any thing in thy mirth.

22. Do evil to no man for malice, neither commit any vice for covetousness.

23. Open not thy gate to flatterers, nor thy ears to backbiters.

24. Become not proud in thy prosperity, nor desperate in thine adversity.

25. Study always to be loved of good men, and seek not to be hated of the evil.

26. Be favourable unto the poor, which may be little, if thou wilt be aided of God against them that be mighty.

CHAP. VII.

Smith called for to Queen Elizabeth's Court. Concerned in the settlement of religion. His judgment of the Queen's marriage.

Anno 1558. Q. Eliz. Smith employed in the Reformation.

WHEN Queen Elizabeth's turn came to sway the sceptre, Sir Thomas Smith was presently called to the Court, and made use of; and assisted in settling the public affairs both in Church and State[a]. The first thing he seemed to be employed in was, in preparing a reformed Office of Religion. For when a deliberation was soon had of changing the religion set up under Queen Mary, in a device offered to Sir William Cecil, (who was now admitted Secretary of State,) for the doing of it, it was advised, that before an whole alteration could be made, which would require some longer time and study, a platform or book of Divine Service should be framed, to be shewn to the Queen, and being by her approved, to be put up in the Parliament-house. For which purpose seven men were nominated, Dr. Bill, the Queen's Almoner, and Master of Trinity college in Cambridge, and after Dean of Westminster; Dr. Parker, late Dean of Lincoln, soon after Archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. May, late Dean of St. Paul's, and soon after elect of York; Dr. Cox, late Dean of Westminster, and Christ Church, Oxon, after Bishop of Ely; Dr. Pilkington, late Master of St. John's college, Cambridge, and after Bishop of Durham; Grindal, late Chaplain to Bishop Ridley, and soon after Bishop of London; and Whitehead, a grave and elderly Divine, highly esteemed by Archbishop Cranmer: these four last having been exiles in the last reign. And our Knight, Sir Thomas Smith, his office was to call them together, and to be among them. And after

[a] Among the first businesses of state the Queen employed Smith about, he was in a commission December 23, 1558, together with the Judges, Sergeants, Attorney and Solicitor General, and Mr. Goodrick, for consideration of all things necessary for the Parliament now near meeting.

consultation with these, other men of learning were to be drawn in, being grave and apt men, to give their assents. And accordingly these men met, it being now winter, at Sir Thomas's house, which then was in Cannon-row; where was laid in a sufficient quantity of wood, coals, and drink for their use: and here was Sir Thomas assistant with the rest in the reviewing of King Edward's Book of Common Prayer, to be again received and established in the Church, and in several other things to take place in the intended reformation.

Anno 1558. Q. Eliz.

And when in the beginning of the Queen's reign, (*viz.* December 23,) the several public important affairs of the kingdom were committed to the cares of divers noble persons and courtiers, in five distinct committees; as 1. The cares of the north parts; 2. The survey of the office of the treasurer of the chamber; 3. For Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight; 4. For inquiry into what lands had been granted by the late Queen Mary from the crown; 5. For the consideration of such things as were necessary for the ensuing Parliament; for this last Sir Thomas Smith was one of the committee, together with the Keeper of the Great Seal, the Judges, and some others.

And in one of the committees for the state.

In the first year of the Queen, he was also by her employed to give the treasurer and chamberlains of his native town of Walden their oaths of fidelity to her Majesty. To him and George Nicolls the recorder, a commission from the Queen, dated May 1, 1559, was issued for that purpose, and the form of the oath to be administered set down therein. A copy of which commission yet remaineth in one of the town books.

Anno 1559. And in swearing the officers of Walden.

And being in the commission of the peace, he now did very good service in the county of Essex where he lived. For I find him in June one of the chief in executing a commission of an order taken at Chelmsford, June 16, 1559, by the Earl of Oxford, the Lord Lieutenant, and the rest of the Justices there met. It was for the taking care to the orders newly made by Parliament for the reformation of religion, and for the mustering and putting the

Sir Thomas's service in the commission of the peace.

CHAP. VII.

Anno 1559. Q. Eliz.

county in a posture of defence. In which, I make no doubt, Sir Thomas had a great hand, and was a special director. The sum of these orders was, that every Justice of Peace was to take an oath, which was provided for that purpose; and that every one appointed to be a Justice should not forbear to serve, or take the oath. That the Justices should call three or four of the honest inhabitants of every parish, and charge them to get the Common Prayer Book and Administration of the Sacraments lately authorized by Parliament to be said and used. And that the said inhabitants should see the Curates in each parish use such service as was appointed in the said book, and no other. And if any Curate refused so to do, or ministered some other way than was set down, or preach or teach any thing in derogation to the same, to apprehend and take him, and bring him before the Lord Lieutenant, to receive punishment according to the statute. The said inhabitants also to present the names of all persons as did absent themselves from divine service. That the Justices and all other gentlemen give their attendance upon such preachers as should be sent by the Queen or the Bishops, so long as the preachers should tarry in those parts. Also, to order watches and beacons to be kept within their several divisions. To cause the act for rebellion and the statute for archery to be published to the people. To see to the punishment of vagabonds and seditious tellers of tales. To send their precepts to all constables, to give admonition to all persons to provide themselves with horse and armour, according as the law lately made in that behalf ordained. The constables to direct a brief of the statute of armour, with the pains contained, that it might be notified to all men how they were to provide for the musters. And within three weeks after the former precept, to send forth precepts to the constables, requiring all men from sixteen to sixty, chargeable by the last statute for finding of armour, to repair before the Justices at such a day and place as they should appoint; and thither to bring all their household servants, and arms, and horses,

as they were bounden to find. Also, to certify to the Lord Lieutenant of the default and lack of furniture in any. To choose out the most likely and able men for the wars, and put their names in a book; and particularly note their names that should be most meet for demi-lances, light horsemen, gunners, archers, pikemen, and billmen. Musters being taken, the Justices to deliver to the Lord Lieutenant a certificate containing the number of all the able men within every hamlet and parish, &c. Anno 1559. Q. Eliz.

Besides the oath which the Justices were to take, mentioned in the first article above mentioned, they were to subscribe their names to a writing to be transmitted to the Council, "acknowledging it their bounden duty to "observe the contents of the act of Parliament, that is, "the Act for Uniformity of Common Prayer, &c. And for "the observation of the same law, they did firmly promise "that they and their families would repair at all times to "their parish churches, or, upon reasonable impediment, "to other usual chapels, for the same Common Prayer and "divine service; and to receive the holy Sacrament from "time to time, according to the tenor of the said act: and "none of them that subscribed should say or do, or as-"sent or suffer any thing to be done or said by their pro-"curement, in contempt of any part of the religion esta-"blished by that act." In which subscription, as I find the form of it written down by Sir Thomas in one of his paper books, so I repute him to have been a great counsellor, for the furthering of religion, and the excluding of all Popishly affected from having any countenance from the state [b]. Subscription of the Justices.

Great discourse was now had every where about the Anno 1560. Smith's dialogue concerning the Queen's marriage.

[b] When John Duke of Finland, second son to Gustavus King of Sweden, came into England to court Queen Elizabeth to match with his elder brother, now King, for the more honourable reception and conducting of the said Duke to Court, Sir Thomas Smith was sent by the Queen, in company with the Earl of Oxon, and Mr. (afterwards Sir Francis) Knollis. And there be three letters extant in the Paper-house, wrote by them to the Council, relating to their service in this regard.

CHAP. VII.

Anno 1560. Q. Eliz.

Queen's marriage; for it was the nation's great desire to see the Queen have a Prince to succeed in the government after her. The Queen seemed not inclinable to marry; and there were some that flattered her, and declared it were better for her and the realm, that she should remain single as she was: but the most part, and especially the Protestant, was earnest for her marriage; yet these varied; some were for her marrying abroad, others at home. Of this argument Sir Thomas drew up an ingenious book, consisting of divers orations for and against the Queen's marriage, feigned to be spoken by certain dialogists according as their judgments were in this point: their names were, Agamus, whose judgment was for the Queen's not marrying; Philoxenes, who was for her marrying, but for her marrying a stranger; and Axenius, who was for her marrying at home with some one of her noble subjects. For the sight of this choice MS. I am beholden to my worthy friends, Sir Richard Gibbs, of Weltham in Suffolk, Knight, and the Reverend Mr. John Laughton, public library keeper of Cambridge.

The first entrance into this dialogue begins thus: "As "I was walking in my garden all alone, Francis Walsing- "ham came unto me: and whether I espied him at the "first coming or no, my head being occupied with mat- "ters, I know not. But after the first common words of "*Welcome*, and *How do ye*, and *Ye have been long a* "*stranger*, *What news?* &c. I pray you, saith he, tell me, "if I may be so bold to ask you, what is that you are "musing upon so sadly alone when I came in? Me- "thoughts you had some great matter in your head; for "ye scarcely did see me, and loath ye were to be inter- "rupted. Ye guess well, quoth I; for I was recording "with myself a communication which was had here, even "in this place, partly in walking, and partly in sitting "upon the green bench, of certain friends of yours and "mine, which came now from the Court to solace them- "selves in the country, and took my house in their way. "I pray you, said he, if I may hear it, let me hear some

" piece of it; for it must be some great matter that
" maketh you muse of it all alone. *S.* It is a great matter
" indeed, quoth I, marry it is as a man doth take it. For
" it was a disputation much after the old sort of Plato's
" Dialogues and Tully's, and *a thing* which I would wish
" some learned man had in hand that could handle it well,
" as it will bear; for the matter seemeth worthy the
" writing: and they surely each man defended his part
" stoutly and lively with so *many reasons* as came to his
" mind, I dare say for that time. *W.* And whose part took
" you? But I am a fool to ask you that question before
" you tell me the matter and argument of the disputation.
" *S.* The matter was of the marriage of the Queen's Ma-
" jesty, whom I had thought that all the world, as well as
" I, had wished to have been married, that it might have
" pleased God to have blessed and made glad our country
" with a young Prince of her body. *W.* And is there any
" man so wicked and so foolish that doth not wish so? *S.*
" I cannot tell you what he doth indeed, but I assure
" you one, whom I dare say ye neither account wicked,
" nor a fool in reasoning, would shew himself not only of
" the contrary mind, but to have great reasons for his
" opinion. *W.* That is but as you philosophers and rheto-
" ricians do. For you care not what part you take. For
" if you list, you will never lack arguments; and would
" make some simple men, as I am that hear you, believe,
" that the cow is wood, and that the moon is made of a
" green cheese. *S.* When you speak of learned men, put
" me out of the number. But he held that her Majesty
" did best in thus keeping herself sole as she doth; and
" would seem to be in mind that it were best for her not
" to marry. *W.* Marry, that is a mind indeed; if it were
" known abroad he were of such a mind, whosoever he
" were, I dare say every man would spit at him in the
" streets as he goeth; and for my part I should never love
" him. *S.* Why? If her Majesty were of that mind, as it
" seemeth by divers of her doings and sayings she is,
" would you not love her? *W.* Love her? Her Majesty I

CHAP. VII.

Anno 1560. Q. Eliz.

" cannot choose but love: her virtues be such, that who-
" soever knoweth her Majesty, (though he were not her
" subject,) must needs love her. As for us that are her
" subjects, duty compelleth us to love, honour, and obey
" her, to take her part, whatsoever it shall please her
" Highness to do in that case. But I cannot choose but
" wish otherwise. *S.* Well, another held the contrary.
" Marry, he would in any case her Majesty should marry
" within the realm. *W.* God's blessing on his heart: him
" I like well. *S.* The third thought it more convenient
" that her Majesty should have some prince, a stranger;
" and brought great reasons therefore. *W.* That was, I dare
" lay a wager, some Italianated Englishman, or some mon-
" grel, that hath good store of outlandish blood in him. *S.*
" Ye judge very fast, before ye either know the man, or
" have perused his reasons. Well, the fourth seemeth most
" indifferent, for he was but directly against the first;
" for in any wise he liked not that sole life of a Queen.
" For the rest, whether it pleased her Highness to take a
" nobleman of England or a stranger, he was indifferent.
" *W.* Sir, if I may be so bold as to hear the whole dis-
" course, you shall do me the greatest pleasure in the
" world. And seeing you were repeating the same with
" yourself, you were as well tell it out. With one labour
" you shall repeat that thing that else you would do, and
" pleasure me your friend. *S.* Neither the labour is all
" one to meditate in a man's mind, and to speak out with
" his tongue: nor his peril is like. For if I fail in the re-
" peating to myself, either in my memory of the reasons,
" or plain uttering of them, I am the offender and pu-
" nisher, no man else can control me. When I shall take
" upon me to tell them unto you, you shall, I know, some-
" times have cause to find fault with my memory, and
" sometimes with my wit, and most times with my elo-
" quence; and they peradventure have cause to be angry
" with me, because with my ill rehearsing I do weaken
" their arguments, and with my rudeness stain their elo-
" quence. *W.* I pray you let these things pass, and do

" but as well as you can; for I can desire no better with " reason: let me hear also what was disputed amongst " them. *S.* It began thus:

" After dinner they were disposed to walk into my rude " garden, and there, I cannot tell well who, one began to " tell, that now of fresh the rumour of the King of Sweden " Ericus's coming hither, (for as ye know by the death of " his father Gustave, it began to be stayed,) was renewed " again, and that of many he was undoubtedly looked for " shortly to come himself hither into England, and in pro- " per person, not by embassage, to be a wooer to her Ma- " jesty. Then, quoth I, would that wooing were once " done, and that her Majesty had one whom she could " like of, that we might see the hope and fruit of succes- " sion more near at hand. What, said one of them, is " there not in England as goodly men, noble, witty, and " courageous, as be in other strange places? What need " it be sought so far, that we have so near? By my troth, " quoth another of them, methinketh far more better and " honourable for all purposes, that her Majesty should " take to husband some prince or nobleman, a stranger, " than any of her own subjects. Well, saith the third, " and I am in that mind, (although I know it is not the " most plausible opinion,) that her Majesty doth best to " keep her thus sole, unmarried as she is. The fourth at " that was as much displeased as you were. Neither, " saith he, am I altogether proselyte of the first opinion, " nor yet of the second; but so that her Majesty marry, " whether our countryman or a stranger, I like indiffer- " ently: marry, to hold that she should not marry, I hold " it an unnatural, and in manner a wicked opinion " against our country. My masters, quoth I, we have all " leisure, thanks be to God, and ye may make me now " glad: for methinks I am in Plato's Academy, or Ci- " cero's Tusculane. I pray you, seeing you all four be of " divers opinions, let us hear your reasons. We can have " no better place nor time; and if this green bank be not " soft enough, we will have cushions brought to sit on.

CHAP. VII.

Anno 1560. Q. Eliz.

"To that they all agreed, and said they needed no "cushions, the bank was so fair, and the garden so plea- "sant. A little they strived who should begin. But he "that spake against marriage said, he would gladly first "declare unto them, that his opinion was not so strange "nor so unreasonable as they took it: and so he began."

Then he who was for the Queen's sole life, represented under the name of Agamus, [*i. e.* Ἄγαμος, Cœlebs,] or Wedspite, makes his discourse at large. After he had ceased, Philoxenus, [*i. e.* Φιλόξενος,] or Love-alien, makes his oration, in answer to Agamus, for the Queen's marriage. Then the same Philoxenus enters into another speech, fortified with divers arguments, for the Queen's marrying with a stranger. Then spake Axenius, [Ἀξένιος,] or Homefriend, for the Queen's marrying an Englishman. In all these discourses Sir Thomas Smith layeth down what reasons could be made use of in favour of the argument insisted on; adorned also with handsome eloquence, and furnished with proper examples out of history, ancient and modern. In the last and chief discourse of all, Smith seems to intend himself the speaker under the name of Axenius. I shall exemplify these orations for the reader's pleasure and satisfaction; and the rather, because they have many things relating to public affairs not long before happening in the realm under the reigns of King Henry, King Edward, and Queen Mary. But if I should place them here, it would too much interrupt the course of the history; therefore they are reserved for the Appendix, where the reader shall find them.

Num. III.

CHAP. VIII.

Sir Thomas's Embassies to France.

THE principle Queen Elizabeth went by, at her first coming to the crown, was to displace as few as she might of the old Ministers of State: whereby it came to pass that many of those that were her sister's servants remained so to her. Therefore though she parted with Queen Mary's two Secretaries, Bourn and Boxal, strong Papists, who came in the rooms of Cecil and Smith, yet she kept Secretary Petre still, and replaced Cecil. And intending to retain only two principal Secretaries for the future, there was no room for our Smith. But he was not to be laid aside; his abilities were too well known: and therefore the Queen resolved to make use of him for a time in her business with foreign princes, till she might prefer him in her own Court. Thus (not to mention that he seemeth to be dispatched abroad into France in the year 1559, together with Thirlby, Bishop of Ely, the Lord Howard, and Dr. Wotton, when a peace was concluded with that crown; and there resided) in the year 1562 he was thought a fit person to be employed in the embassy to France; of whom Camden in his History takes no notice, though he doth of the embassage. He received his last instructions in September, and a declaration written in French; and Sir Thomas Gresham, the Queen's merchant, gave him credit. The matter of the embassy was to urge the restitution of Calais, and to keep the correspondence with the Protestant Prince of Condé; that in case of a breach with France, he might be assistant to the English against that crown.

Anno 1562. Q. Eliz.

Why not restored to be Secretary.

Dispatched to France.

Sir Thomas made some stay at Calais, waiting for the coming of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, the Queen's Ambassador then in France, that they might repair to the French Court together; but he made a delay at Orleans upon some by-ends, to the prejudice of the Queen's af-

Stops at Calais; and why.

CHAP. VIII.

Anno 1562. Q. Eliz.

fairs. So Sir Thomas at last set forward himself towards the Court, where more good was to be done with his presence, than otherwise. But as for Throgmorton's abode at Orleans, done perhaps to discredit or impede the success of Smith's embassy, (and so he seemed to take it, as did others also,) Secretary Cecil wrote to Smith, that he took it to be upon such reasonable causes as he had alleged, though other folks were not so well persuaded; and he wished him safe at home to answer his own doings: where, as that good Secretary wrote, he should not lack his friendship for divers respects. But this was the beginning of no good understanding between Throgmorton and Smith, though both joint Ambassadors in France for the Queen.

Directions to him from the Council.

The Queen's Council wrote their letters to him in October, wherein they shewed him what passed between the French Ambassador and them; and how a matter of treason of the Poles, practised by the French and Spanish Ambassadors, had been of late discovered; which, although it were a matter of no great moment to be feared, yet thereby was made apparent how truly the Queen and her Council judged of the house of Guise; and that so he might, as he saw cause, take advantage thereby to maintain the former reasons published by her Majesty, for justification of her doings in sending forces into France, as the Secretary wrote to this Ambassador. But to look a little back.

Smith a peace-mover.

Smith's great profession was, when he came into France, to be a peace-mover. As soon as he had audience of the King and Queen, he wrote the Council a full account thereof to their great satisfaction. And the Secretary wrote to him, that they all allowed of his zeal to procure peace, and of his diligence in so ample a manner, as by his writing had appeared.

Confers with the Pope's Legate.

The Cardinal of Ferrara, the Pope's Legate, being then at Court, Smith had much conference with him: but for this he had not escaped a reprimand from the Court, had not some of his good friends interceded. Of this Cecil

gave him notice in these words in the month of November: "But to write plainly and friendly unto you, as I "would you should if our places were changed, the most "here have misliked that you have treated with the Le- "gate, and seem willing that you should have been repri- "manded therefore. But therein I and others unto your "good meaning have so tempered the cause, as thereof "you shall hear no otherwise, except it be by me and "some others your private good friends." For that, as he added, there were among them in England divers very scrupulous of dealing with the Pope's ministers; and therefore he advised the Ambassador to forbear the Cardinal in these affairs, and to use other courtesy to him as he should see cause for the state of Ferrara, as the Ambassador had well made the distinction to himself. The Secretary also now advised him to beware of one Monsieur de Serre, saying that he was "very fine and nimble in all "his practiques."

Anno 1582. Q. Eliz.

The Secretary's advice to the Ambassador.

In our Ambassador's last dispatch he wrote to the Queen, and therein took the liberty to give her certain good counsel; which letter she took in good part, and ordered the Secretary to thank him for it, and willed him also to warn the ambassador of the Cardinal of Ferrara, and likewise to let all the favourers of the Prince of Condé manifestly understand, that without his consent the Ambassador would not enter into any treaty with France.

The Queen's orders to him.

Smith, in this embassy, had but ill entertainment in France; for he went over in a year wherein he met with three evils, plague, intestine war, and famine. Whereof the next year the plague came over into England; the intestine war was pretty well ceased; but the famine, that is the dearth of provision, remained and increased there more and more.

Three evils in France.

February 1, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, joint Ambassador with Smith, came over into England to the Queen, leaving Smith alone in France; and nine days after he sent over his man to the Court with letters.

CHAP. VIII.

Anno 1562. Q. Eliz. Smith's behaviour in his embassy.

And so well had Sir Thomas managed his office, and described the affairs of France so fully, that the letters he wrote thereof to Secretary Cecil did much delight him: and in an answer he told him he had read over his letters several times, "heartily thanking him for his large letters; which contented him so well, as indeed he was delighted to read them twice, or some thrice." And such was Smith's wise and true English behaviour, and eloquent utterance, that he got himself great credit and reputation among the Frenchmen; concerning which the Secretary, in one of his letters to him, used these words: "That he was glad to see his credit so good to do good: and indeed, (added he,) using wisdom therewith, courteous and gracious speech (which was one of Smith's accomplishments) doth much profit."

Entertains a subtle spy.

And as that nation was crafty and fine in all their negotiations with other states, so our Ambassador used art, to be a match for them; for he made use of a certain subtle spy in Orleans, whose letters he received and dispatched into England: and by the intelligence gathered by this means our Ambassador did excellent service, which occasioned the Secretary in a letter to him, speaking of Smith's last letters, and the copy of others sent to the said Smith from Orleans, to say, "That he saw his great diligence, and to speak in proper terms, that he dealt very cunningly, meet for the place he held; advising him to cherish the party that served his turn, and that he should be kept out of danger, whereby his service might last the longer." This he wrote to the Ambassador in cypher. The Secretary added, that he had notified him and his service to the Queen's Majesty; and so he bid the Ambassador let him know.

His complaint.

But, notwithstanding, the Ambassador could not do that service he would; for he complained that the instructions from England came not to him, and he was perplexed for lack of intelligence from thence. But the Secretary satisfied him in part concerning that point, in the answer he

next made him; which was, that he knew not what more instructions he could require than what he already had, which was to prosecute no other ends but the restitution of Calais. And as to his dealing with the Prince of Condé, and the Admiral of France, whom the Secretary suspected to be about making peace with the French without the English, (as they did indeed not long after,) he advertised him, how he ought to urge to them their promises and compacts under their hands and seals: and that if they should have no regard to these, they might expect the judgment of God upon them for their false dealing. The contents of the contract between the Queen and them were, that she should pay them a great sum of money, and send them six thousand men for their defence; and that they should deliver into her hands, for caution, Newhaven, which she should hold in her hands till Calais should be restored. The letters that passed from Sir Thomas, in this embassy this year, are still extant in the Paper Office in two bundles; one whereof about a general peace; and therein letters also from Middleton, sent from Smith to the Admiral of France.

Anno 1563. The Ambassador's instructions concerning the Prince of Condé.

Our Ambassador abode still in France, until the next year 1563. Then Monsieur Briquemault came over to the Queen from the Prince of Condé; whose business was, to endeavour to bring the Queen, not to insist upon the restitution of Calais, but to be satisfied with some other terms. But in May, when he departed, she utterly denied that there was any other way of satisfaction. And the Queen then also wrote letters to her Ambassador to deal very roundly with the Prince and the Admiral. And so the Secretary thought they had deserved, as he wrote to the Ambassador; and yet, as he added, he doubted not but the Ambassador would have consideration how to strike therein, whether high or low[a].

The Ambassador sends news to the Council.

In letters our Ambassador Smith had lately sent to the Court, he gave great content: wherein, as he advertised

[a] Thomas Dannet, June 15, 1563, was sent to Sir Thomas Smith, to join with him to demand Calais.

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the Lords of the Council plentifully of the variety of news in France, so he gave good plain rules how the same advertisements should be taken and judged. And both the one and the other pleased them very well.

Ordered to speak only in Latin in his negotiation.

In his negotiation with France this year, when things were well nigh accorded, some reports came out of France, which so offended the Queen, that she altered her resolutions; and among other things commanded Sir Thomas, that whereas before he negotiated in one language, (which I suppose was the French,) he should now use no other language but Latin. Concerning which, thus the Secretary wrote to him: "This alteration of your speech "into Latin, I thought very strange; but surely her Ma- "jesty had occasion ministered by such reports as now "were brought, to think the same were best. And there- "fore, using no more the vulgar tongue of the nation, but "the learned, things for the future might be kept more "private; and therefore," added he, "I know very well "you can do this in the Latin as well as any man, and I "nothing doubt but that ye will do it."

Contention between Smith and Throgmorton.

Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, who returned into France July 20th, and was Ambassador there with Sir Thomas, by means of secret practising at the Court, was arrested by the French King's order, at Caudebec, August 3. He was a favourite of the Lord Robert Dudley, and by his means dispatched thither. This Throgmorton was subtle and active, and a man of intrigue. He and Sir Thomas, a person of more gravity and discretion, could not well comport together; Throgmorton rather hindering than furthering the Queen's business by his over-practising. The dissension between them came to the Court. Throgmorton had a great friend there, namely, the Lord Robert Dudley; so Sir Thomas's course was to sue to the Secretary for his good word. The Secretary wrote to him, that as he had promised him his friendship, so he saw it well bestowed. Smith also desired him to acquaint the Lord Robert with the difference between him and Sir Nicholas, writing also the case. This Cecil accordingly

caused to be shewn, and procured Mr. Somers, (one who was employed backward and forward in this treaty between England and France,) to report his knowledge, which it seems made more for Sir Thomas than his own writing did. But the wise Secretary wished, as he said, such matters to be swallowed up in forgetfulness, knowing how by these private animosities between the Queen's Ambassadors public business was hindered.

Smith's plainness pleaseth the Lord Robert.

Smith also now sent a letter to the Lord Robert himself, which was writ with so much freedom and honest plainness, that it pleased the said Lord, and set all right between the said Ambassador and him. The Lord Robert shewed the letter to Cecil, and much commended his plainness of writing to him, and confessed it to be both wisely and friendly done. For Smith was for truth and plainness, as Throgmorton was for doubling. And the Secretary was of Smith's mind, telling him in his correspondence, "That he for his part thought it always the "best way so to deal; for that though playing under "board served sometimes the jugglers, yet we saw by "proof, in friendship it lasted not, but brought inconve-"nience."

Instructions for Smith's dealing with the Protestants.

When the Prince of Condé, and the Admiral, as was hinted before, had made a separate peace with the French King, and Newhaven was surrendered to the French by the English, and Sir Nicholas Throgmorton remained a prisoner to that King, Smith's great business now (being the month of September) was to get the said Ambassador set at liberty, and to get the money lent in March last to the said Prince and Admiral (which was 300,000 crowns) repaid, and withal to put them in mind of their promises made to the Queen. The Secretary told him, that he should gain great good-will to recover the said Throgmorton; and he thought whatever small colour or pretence they had for his confinement, that much labour must obtain him. "And good Master Smith," added he, "em-"ploy all your credit, and assay the Protestants there to "do somewhat like to their promises. I marvel what an-

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"swer the Prince and the Admiral can make for the mo-
"ney lent them." Though Smith himself was now con-
Anno 1563. Q. Eliz. fined at Paris as a prisoner, as he had been August 30 at Melun, the French King being then in Normandy; yet while he was thus confined, he was sent for September 11 to the Court at Corboil; but soon after, that is, September 13, he had liberty granted, but not further than the city of Paris: the grant of his full liberty followed on the 17th. And so had the Queen confined the French Ambassador, but in no worse place than Sir Thomas Smith's own lodgings at Eton [b].

Smith treateth for peace.

In November our Ambassador was drawing to a peace with the French, orders having been sent him to conclude it. The dealing was to be very private, that is to say, Smith alone, with one single person on the French side. But yet he had so much experience of the misreports and false relations which the French abounded with, that he was afraid to deal alone; thinking, that if some others were present, they might serve for witnesses, if occasion should be, of what passed on his part. This scruple he communicated to his friend the Secretary, who told him very well, that although he might well be fearful to deal alone, yet in dealing also with one alone he could incur no peril of being misreported: for that equity would save them both, that one should not convince another.

Here let us make a little halt, before we go on in our relation of Sir Thomas Smith's managery of his public charge. And we shall take notice of some matters of a more private nature, which fell out to him, or wherein he was concerned while he was here in France.

Dr. Haddon's advice to Smith.

He had some cause to be jealous how this his negotiation was taken at Court; and was very desirous to know what his friends here thought of him: and therefore to his intimate friend Doctor Haddon, Master of the Requests, he signified his desire to be informed herein by him; to

[b] The Queen, October 27, sent a new commission to Sir Nicholas Throgmorton and Sir Thomas Smith, resident for the Queen, to treat of a peace.

which Haddon answered, "That Smith knew that he was "not acquainted with the secret counsels of the Court, "but that those, who, in his judgment, were the most in- "telligent among their friends, attributed much to his "wisdom and moderation; and specially Cecil, their com- "mon friend, who always made honourable and friendly "mention of him. Cicero could not correct Cato, as he con- "fessed himself, he might lightly mend him, and fashion "him; but Haddon could neither correct Smith, nor mend "him. But he would be the author of this piece of ad- "vice to him, that he should be his own counsellor, and "that he should transact causes with himself, and not be "led away by the blasts of reports, or the storms arising "from fears, not to pursue those purposes that he be- "lieved would tend most to the benefit and right admin- "istration of the state. Let who's will be Flaminius," added he, "I would have you to be Q. Fabius; and I "hope you will be so. Terentius Varro's fame flies "through all commonwealths; but the most happy me- "mory of Paulus Æmilius is celebrated, even in his most "unhappy death; for we cannot do any thing but may "chance to fail sometimes; and where things are wisely "foreseen, they ought to have a just praise, however "some accident may turn them to disadvantage; and he "advised him to have that of old Ennius in his memory,

Non ponebat enim rumores ante salutem.

"And the mind," said he, "cannot remain steady in pub- "lic causes, nor counsels consist together, unless there be "a constancy in our doings accompanying. He acknow- "ledged Smith's condition, in this respect, was somewhat "hard, and that he received the laws of his embassy from "others, and managed the affairs of the state by prescrip- "tions laid down to him. Yet as you may," said he, "in- "terpose yourself, and be not silent when you perceive "any thing that may turn to the help and benefit of us "your countrymen at home. He went on in his counsels "to his friend: he bade him abandon all converse with

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"loose women[c], for they blunted the edge of the mind, "and afforded nothing but sudden mischiefs of body and "soul: that he should not be too much disturbed at the "offences, the passions, and the mistakes of others, as be- "coming neither his prudence, nor learning, nor manner "of life. For the various inclinations and thoughts of "men have ever produced such waves and high tides in "human life, and will do so to the end: in which, if we "proceed with reason, as much as we can, we shall be "upheld with the conscience of our good deeds; nor "shall the hasty gusts of fortune move a mind founded in "wisdom. Then he remembered him of his own former "excellent discourses concerning patience and fortitude, "and of the praise of the mind of man. And he asked "him to what end they tended, being uttered by him "with so much moving eloquence. What?" said he, "only "to lie hid in the schools, where he once spake them? or "to be inclosed within the walls of Cambridge? or may "they not shew themselves abroad, and be seen in the "sun, and be brought forth into act? Will they not ac- "company you in France, if need be? For my part, I "should not much esteem these arts, in which I know "you are excellently instructed, unless they be now pre- "sent with you, when you have most need of them; nor "should I think you wise at all, if in these difficult times "you be absent from yourself, when you ought especially "to be present." These were the brave philosophical ar- guments that one scholar entertained the other with.

[c] The word in Haddon's epistle is *convictrices;* which in truth in that place means not *women*, but *curæ et solicitudines*, complained of by Smith in his letter to Haddon, and styled by him *convictrices, those that dwelt with him.*

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Osorius's letter to the Queen, and Dr. Haddon's answer. Difference between Smith and Throgmorton, the Queen's joint Ambassadors. Smith and Cecil friends.

BESIDES public matters, the Secretary held a more private correspondency with our Ambassador, as occasion happened, concerning learning and religion; and according to his order, Smith procured and sent him divers books, which were not to be had at home. Thus once he conveyed over Onuphrius and Polydore, and certain French books of genealogy and chronology for the Secretary. Anno 1563. Q. Eliz. The ambassador sends over books to Cecil.

There had been a dangerous book wrote in Latin, and lately printed abroad, against the present state of religion in England. An answer to which, in the same language, the Secretary had procured, and wanted nothing but to have it printed abroad, as the other was. In a letter wrote to the Ambassador, dated November 28th, he wished he had a sight of it, and that he would give his allowance thereof by some commendatory epistle to be added; and if he could by some good means procure it to be well printed in France, without peril of the book, he would send him the copy: or if he could get it printed at Strasburgh, or Basil, by some means from thence, he would also send it him; but if he could not, he would send by some of his men to Christopher Mount, the Queen's agent in Strasburgh, for him to take care for the publishing of it. Smith to procure a book to be printed in France.

But to relate a few particulars of this book, which made no small stir in these days. Hieronymus Osorius, a Portugal, then a private man, afterwards Bishop of Arcoburge or Sylvane, wrote an epistle to Queen Elizabeth, in an elegant Latin style, being nothing in effect but an admonition to her to wheel about to Popery. In this epistle he imagined many monstrous errors to be nurselled in our Osorius's epistle to the Queen,

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Church, and with much reproachful language depraved the professors of the Gospel. This libel was soon after printed in France, both in Latin and French; as it was also printed in English at Antwerp, anno 1565, translated by one Richard Shacklock, M. A. and student of the Civil Law in Louvain, and entitled, *A Pearl for a Prince.*

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Answered by Haddon.

This the state thought necessary to have an answer to, because it reflected much upon the justice and wisdom of the nation. Dr. Walter Haddon, one of the finest learning, and of the most Ciceronian style in England, was employed to answer this foreigner's book, which he finished in this year 1563, beginning, *Legi, Hieronyme, tuam epistolam,* &c. It is extant in the said Haddon's Lucubrations, published by Hatcher of Cambridge.

In the beginning, Haddon shewed the cause of his answering of Osorius, and of his publishing the same; namely, that Osorius had indeed writ his epistle separately to the Queen; yet it seemed to be intended for all, because it was published in print, and was open to the eyes of all men. He added, that this author had taken much upon him, that he, being a private man, and at a great distance, both by sea and land, unacquainted also with English affairs, should so confidently take upon him to speak to the Queen's Majesty; that he diminished the dignity of the laws of England, and that in general, he made the nation guilty of a wicked and malicious kind of novelty. Haddon in his answer studied brevity; and they were only some particular points, whereunto he thought good to answer, although not to the full neither: because he supposed (as he wrote in his Apology) that Osorius might be deluded by some malicious reports of our adversaries.

This answer recommended to Smith to revise,

Haddon's book being thus prepared, the care was to get it published: and because Osorius was printed in France, both in Latin and French, Cecil thought it convenient, that Haddon's said answer should be printed in the same place, and in both the same languages. Hereupon the said Cecil, in January, sent the treatise to our

Ambassador, desiring him to procure the printing of it, and that with all expedition: and that he would add to it something by his own hand, where and as he thought good, and that he would procure it to speak French, and to be published in that language also. And accordingly this epistle responsory of Dr. Haddon was so well considered over and weighed by Smith, and had his castigations, that it might be reckoned to be Smith's work as well as Haddon's. For Haddon also had entreated him to ponder diligently his answer, that nothing might be in it, but what was fit to be seen and read for the vindication of the Queen and realm.

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Smith also spake to Robert Stephens, the French King's Printer, that he would take it in hand. He desiring the copy, to see whether there were any thing in it which touched the state of that kingdom, as also to consider the bulk of the book, and on condition he had leave of the Queen, undertook to do it. But it received some stop by this means, (which probably enough might have been a thing plotted by Osorius's friends, or Queen Elizabeth's and the nation's enemies.) One de Valla came to the English Ambassador, and desired he might have the sight of this epistle of Haddon's; and whether he had the Ambassador's leave or no, went to Stephens as from the Ambassador, and took the book from him to peruse it for a time. But while it was in de Valla's possession, the Provost Marshal arrested the said de Valla, upon pretence of some crime, and withal, took this book out of his hand, and so it was brought to the Court, and remained in the possession of the said Provost. This created work for the Ambassador.

And publish.

So he wrote to the Chancellor of France, acquainting him with the whole matter; relating to him, how Osorius had in the book traduced the manners, lives, and religion of England, not according to the truth of the thing, as indeed it was, but according to his apprehension; and as ignorant men had out of envy represented matters to him. And that if he had kept his book within its own bounds,

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A licence for which he labours to obtain from the Chancellor,

and in the shadow of his own closet, no matter would have been made of it: but when he had made that public vaunt of his performance, by setting it forth in print, and making a boast of himself to the world, in this new and unusual argument, what did he do, but display to all, not only how ignorant he was of the institution, manners, and customs, which we, said he, use at present in England, but how little he knew of those controversies and questions, which now exercised the whole Christian world, and to the understanding whereof the minds of all were so intent? Thus the Ambassador discoursed in his letter. Two things therefore in conclusion he requested of the Chancellor; one was, that after he had read this epistle of Dr. Haddon, he would procure that the copy might be restored to Stephens to print it *cum privilegio;* or if that were not allowed, yet that he might not be hindered from printing it in Latin and French. Or if yet that would not be granted, at least to restore the copy, that it might be printed elsewhere. This was written by Smith, March 6th, from Melun, a place about twenty miles from Paris.

Which he will not grant.

To which the Chancellor gave this answer: that the French Queen was much offended with those folks that presumed to print Osorius's book in France without the King's licence, and commanded him, the Chancellor, to inquire after those that dared to publish it, and to see them punished. He prayed Smith, or his messenger, to procure him one of Osorius's books, that he might peruse it in order to the taking of punishment on the printers; that the Queen, as he said, might know, that good kings, even in war, have a care of the honour of crowned heads. But disapproving the doing it as they did, they could not, he said, permit of Haddon's answer to be printed; and so the French Queen ordered the copy of the said book to be sent back.

Smith presseth it.

Smith followed this business, and sent the Chancellor a copy of Osorius in French, which he had gotten at Paris; for all the Latin ones were dispersed and sold, as the bookseller had plainly reported, and that he had printed

about five hundred, for he had no need to deny it. For in express words it appeared that the book was printed *cum privilegio*. So that, as he wrote to the Chancellor, it was not possible to suppress the book, being printed with authority, nor punish the printer who had such licence; and now to prohibit them to be sold, was, as he expressed it to him, to shut the cage when the birds were flown.

Argues with the Chancellor of France about it.

Smith therefore further pressed the Chancellor in this manner; that this only remained, *viz.* that both parties should be heard, as well he that made the answer, as he that put in the caution. And whereas the Chancellor thought it inconvenient to allow Haddon's book to be printed, because it would be nothing but a contending in reproaches and ill words; Smith said, that there would be no such rude contention between them, but that whereas Osorius, in an oratorical way, shook our forms of religion, and taxed the manners of certain men; Haddon shewed, that Osorius indeed knew neither the one nor the other, and that such was the state of the thing, that in his judgment it were better that both their orations should be read, than either be suppressed: for that both of them were wrote eloquently, and in Latin, and that which they wrote did not at all touch the state of France. Boldly adding, that when Osorius had a liberty *cum privilegio* of accusing our forms, we seemed to demand that which was but equal of him, the Chancellor of France, namely, to be heard with the like privilege; and that it must seem hard that a liberty of haranguing should be granted to one party only. The effect of this was, that our Ambassador got the book printed not long after, as shall be related in due place.

The progress of this controversy.

But though Smith was not concerned any further in this affair, after he had brought the book to the press with his own corrections and additions; yet it may not be amiss to relate the progress of this controversy, which I shall do briefly. There passed over a year or two, and Dr. Haddon was appointed the Queen's agent in Flanders, and

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was Leiger at Bruges. At what time one Emanuel Dalmada, a Portuguese born, Bishop of Angrence, suddenly sprung up in Brussels, and undertook the defence of his friend Osorius; stuffing a great volume full of slanders and brabbles: and in the end of the book he had caused certain ugly pictures to be pourtrayed, thereby to deface Haddon's personage as much as he might. This Apology (for so it was called) when Haddon perused, he professed he never saw so foolish and unsavoury a writing, full of scoffs and absurdities. The author therefore he despised as one altogether unlettered, and so dull by nature, that he was oftentimes a jesting stock among the wiser sort of his own fraternity. But after some more time, Dr. Thomas Wilson, the Queen's Ambassador in Portugal, coming home, at Osorius's request, brought certain volumes of the said Osorius's composing against Haddon's answer, digested into three books; whereof he delivered one to Haddon, who received it gladly, and perused it once or twice: having hoped that he being then installed a Bishop, would have been much more modest than before. But the matter fell out quite contrary: for, instead of a civil and sober person, he found him a most frivolous sophister; (I use Haddon's own words;) for a grave divine, a childish counterfeit; and in the book, of vanity and haughtiness good store. To this book Haddon soon after began the writing of an Answer Apologetical against the said Osorius's slanderous invectives, as he styled them, for the necessary defence of the evangelical doctrine and verity; and dedicated it to Sebastian, King of Portugal, as Osorius had done his letter before to the Queen; which, as she had gently entertained and perused, so he persuaded himself to obtain the like favour of that King's magnificence and heroical clemency. In this Apology Haddon made some progress, but died before he finished it. And the rest of it, which was the greater part, was done very learnedly by John Fox, and printed about the year 1573; and after by James Bell put into English and printed 1581.

But turn we now again to our Ambassador resident in France. He and Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, joint Ambassador with him there, did not well accord; which was well enough known at Court. This gave the Secretary a great concern, for fear of some miscarriage in public business by means thereof; and in December, in one of his letters to Smith, taking notice of it, he told him that he hoped nevertheless, "that both, for their wisdoms, would have re-"gard of the Queen's affairs, and one of them bear with "the other; for so should both of them deserve com-"mendation." And in another letter he tells Smith, that he was sorry to see things between them no better temporised. "Wisdom," said he, "must rule you both; and "surely otherwise ye shall both take the blame alike, "though ye be not both percase alike to blame."

Anno 1563. Q. Eliz. Difference between the two Ambassadors.

This Throgmorton, to give here some character of him, was a busy-headed man, full of intrigue, a favourite of the Earl of Leicester, and an emulator of Cecil. For his over-business in the French Court he was made a prisoner, though then the Queen's Ambassador; and in that condition he remained some time, namely, so long till the peace was concluded, though he still acted as the Queen's Ambassador. He was somewhat impatient to remain so long under restraint, and thought that Cecil was not sufficiently diligent to get him his liberty. But Cecil understanding it, wrote to his fellow Ambassador to this import, "That "as he had promised Smith his friendship, so he had done "the like to Throgmorton, though some clouds," he said, "let the influence of his good-will to be felt of him; pro-"testing that for his own part, God be his judge and "avenger for all his evil meaning to him in all those "times." And as he was angry at Cecil, whom he did not much love before, so he was easily inclined to blame him upon any suspicion. As in the next year 1564, remaining under confinement still, he was very wroth with the French Ambassador resident in England, to whom he bore a great malice; and yet such was his fineness and dissimulation, that at the latter end of that year, being at

Some character of Throgmorton.

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liberty, and here at home, he grew very great with the same French gentleman. Cecil took notice of it, and wrote to Smith, that he thought it strange to see what great amity now was between the French Ambassador and Mr. Throgmorton, considering the hate he had before borne him. It was strange to Cecil, a plain-dealing man, and of no turnings and windings, though a great and wise politician; but Throgmorton could play the courtier, and pretend friendship in colour for some private ends of his own, when the same distempered spirit lurked still within him that did before.

Cecil's and Smith's friendship.

And happy was Smith in the friendship of the foresaid Cecil, who, as he was a wise and good man, so most sincere and cordial in his nature: and yet once had our Ambassador taken something ill at his hands, according to an ill office that some had done between them, representing him as guilty of some unkindness towards Sir Thomas; whereat he very plainly and freely in his next letters, dated in December, told him of it. This freedom the Secretary took in good part, and valued in truth his friendship the more for it, telling him, that "he had much cause to "thank him for his friendly dealing with him, and as "much more cause to praise him for his open and plain "dealing; which I assure you, on my faith," as he said, "I do allow more in you than any other part of your "friendship." And hence he took occasion to give this good piece of advice to him, *viz.* wishing him to use all integrity in his transactions, that he might have the testimony of a good conscience. Notwithstanding which counsel he reckoned that he needed not to give it him; "For," added he piously and gravely, "when all the glory and "wit, when all the wealth and delight of this world is "past, we must come before the Judge that will exact this "rule of us, to discern us from the goats."

CHAP. X.

Peace with France. Smith continues Ambassador there. His book of the Commonwealth of England. Returns. A review of his embassy.

IN the beginning of the year 1564[a], by the means and labour of Sir Thomas Smith, and Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, his colleague, peace was concluded with France; which was to take place on the 23d of April. It was proclaimed in London the 22d, and on the 23d a notable good sermon was made at St. Paul's, with *Te Deum* sung, and all incident solemnities. The same day it was published at Windsor, in the Queen's presence, going to church, and having with her the French Ambassador; so as nothing wanted to shew contentation. The Queen also now sent over the Garter, to be presented to that King by the Lord Hunsdon, Sir Thomas Smith, and Sir Gilbert Dethic, king of arms.

Anno 1564. Q. Eliz. Smith effects a peace.

After the peace was concluded, Sir Thomas Smith still resided in France. And now one of his great businesses was, to get some good answer for the money due by the Prince of Condé to the Queen.

Solicits the Queen's debt.

In September, Sir Thomas, desirous of returning, solicited by the Secretary his sending for home. But the Secretary could not attain of the Queen a determination about it; perceiving in her a disposition rather to have him continue till that King should return back from those south parts where he then was. But this care however she took for him, that for avoiding of the plague, which then reigned in France, she would have him forbear to follow the Court in dangerous places; considering, as she

The Queen continues him Ambassador.

[a] April 1, 1564, a treaty of peace was at Trevir in Campaign, by Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and Sir Thomas Smith, for the Queen; and Morvillier, Bishop of Orleans, and Secretary Borden, for the French. By the treaty the French King was bound to pay to the Queen 120,000 crowns at Calais or Boulogne, which was contained in a treaty apart, dated April 12.

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said, the French Ambassador did forbear to follow her Court all her last progress into the north, taking his ease at London, although he was by some means moved to the contrary: wherewith her Majesty was somewhat offended. Wherefore she admonished Smith in like manner, according to his convenience, to forbear so diligent a following of that Court as hitherto he had used.

A match for the Queen propounded to him.

In this month of September, the Rhinegrave being in France, dealt with our Ambassador concerning a match between the Archduke, the Emperor's son, and Queen Elizabeth, with which he acquainted the Secretary: to which the Secretary replied, that it would be very seasonable, if it were honourably propounded. Sir Thomas afterwards wrote him, that he should hear more of this another way.

Anno 1565. Smith finisheth his Book of the Commonwealth.

In March, the beginning of the year 1565, did Sir Thomas finish his known tract of the Commonwealth of England, and the manner of the government thereof; consisting of three books. The first whereof was concerning the diversities of commonwealths or governments; and therein he treated of the gentlemen of England, which he divided into the great and less nobility, and of the other ranks of men in this country. The second book was taken up in shewing particularly the laws of the realm. The third was concerning appeals, of the courts of Star-chamber, Wards and Liveries, &c. This excellent book he wrote at his leisure hours, while he was abroad in this his embassy in France; occasioned, as it seemeth, by certain discourses he had with some learned men there, concerning the variety of commonwealths; wherein some did endeavour to undervalue the English government in comparison with that in other countries, where the civil law took place. His drift herein was, as he tells us himself in the conclusion of his book, to set before us the principal points, wherein the English policy at that time differed from that used in France, Italy, Spain, Germany, and all other countries, which followed the civil law of the Romans, compiled by Justinian in his Pandects and Code. And this

tract of his, being as a project or table of a commonwealth laid before the reader, he recommended to be compared with the commonwealths which at that day were *in esse*, or with others which did remain described in true histories; especially in such points wherein the one differed from the other; to see which had taken the more right, truer, and more commodious way to govern the people as well in war as in peace. This, he said, would be no illiberal occupation for him that was a philosopher, and had a delight in disputing; nor unprofitable for him that had to do with, or had good will to serve the prince and commonwealth, in giving counsel for the better administration thereof. This was written in Latin as well as in English, and many were the copies taken of it, till at last it was printed, though I think not before the year 1621[b], when it came forth in English in the old black letter.

From the 5th of August to the 30th of October, Smith's extraordinary charges, which he brought in to the Queen, amounted to 103*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* And as a good part of which was for his servants, some sent into England, and others to the French Court, (the King being then in his progress, and Smith not always following the Court,) so the greatest part was spent in gratifying spies and intelligencers; whereof he had both Scots and French. Of these was De Rege, whom in August he gratified with 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* and in October following with the like sum. Of these French were also La Selle, La Fere, Le Meilleur, Le Gras; to whom he gave monthly, to some 4*l.* to some 3*l.* and to some 40*s.*

His extraordinary expences.

In this embassy Sir Thomas Smith's only son was with him; whom he took along with him to learn accomplishments in a foreign court. In the month of August he

Smith's son with his father.

[b] There was an edition of Smith's Commonwealth earlier than 1621, which I had supposed to have been the first edition; Sir Henry St. George shewing me one printed 1612, by Stanesby, who printed that in 1621. Another there was earlier than that, in the Bishop of Norwich's library; *vic.* printed about 1581. It was printed also by Windet and Seton, anno 1589.

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Anno 1565. Q. Eliz.

came to Secretary Cecil, his father having sent him over with a message to the said Secretary; who let his father know, that he was very welcome to him, and that he liked him well, wishing that he were with him again; for that he seemed to have well profited in observation of many things there. In October the said young gentleman went back to France, with letters from the Secretary to his father.

He labours to come home.

Sir Thomas seemed now to be near the accomplishment of his earnest desires: for the Queen, in October, determined the Secretary's brother-in-law, Mr. Thomas Hoby, should go in Sir Thomas Smith's place; though he, it seems, had no great stomach to it: for when it was moved to him by the Secretary, he took it unkindly at his hands. The Queen understanding it, willed the Earl of Leicester to let him understand peremptorily her Majesty's pleasure. Of this the Secretary advised Sir Thomas, adding that this, though unwillingly, he knew his brother would not deny; and that the Earl had promised him to send for his brother, but yet it was not done: and that he, the Secretary, therefore meant to have my Lady, Sir Thomas's wife, either to speak or send to his Lordship, to press the business.

He returns.

After the winter was past and gone, on the 26th day of March, Mr. Hoby took his leave of her Majesty, in order to his embassy, promising to be at the sea side within ten days. So that in the beginning of the year 1566 Sir Thomas seems to have come home from his long embassy in France [c].

[c] Sir Thomas Hoby, Secretary Cecil's brother in law, succeeded Sir Thomas Smith in this French embassy, and brought Smith letters from the Secretary, dated April 1, 1566; so that he may be concluded to come home in that month: by which letters it appears that Smith had been very angry with the Secretary, as though he were the impediment of his return, and not so cordially his friend as he pretended. But the mild Secretary made a dispassionate reply to a choleric letter; and shewed himself unjustly charged by him that brought his letters, that is, the ambassador that came to succeed him. In whose behalf Cecil prayed Smith to give him his best assistance as to instructions, servants, and the like. But let us read the Secretary's letter:

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To take up a few further remarks of this embassy at the French Court, Smith was apprehensive of the difficulty of performing this his negotiation to the approbation of others; knowing the ticklish station wherein he stood; and that his absence might give occasion to some to slander or misrepresent him. On which account, and being willing to know what reports went of him, he desired his friend Dr. Haddon, Master of the Requests, to inform him what opinions his friends of sway and authority had of his discharge of the affairs committed to him; and what he heard in his doings that pleased or displeased. And the reason Smith gave was, because "it was a very difficult "thing for one that was concerned in the managery of "public affairs, so to perform his actions in one and the "same constant tenor, as to be always applauded."

He is inquisitive how his negotiation is accepted.

Sir Thomas had the opportunity, in the pursuit of his embassy for the service of his mistress, to travel through many parts of France; that King going in progress in the year 1564, and our Ambassador attending the Court. He was at Avignion, whither the Court seemed to remove chiefly for the plague that raged very sore now in that

He follows the Court in France.

"Sir,

"Upon yr servant's readines to depart, I received yr sharp, choleric letters, "reprehending me for yr long stay, and among other things yo noted some "question moved to yo to make yo doubt of my friendship. But yet yo shew "yr selfe not easily therin to be stirred. I bad yr servant say to yo that I do "patiently abide both yr causeless anger and ye malice of such as wil never "rest to send out poison to indanger innocents. *Ex patre sunt Diabolo.* But "of this enough. Cotton library, Titus B 2.

"Now doth yr successor bring these letters, to wm, as yo know, wt friend-"ship yo wil shew, I and other his friends shal acknowledge our selves bound "to yo for ye same: so I heartily beseech yo to instruct him to continue in ye "good highway wherin yo have wel persisted; for I se how easy it is to chuse "by-ways. He is marvelously destitute of a meet servant to be his Secretary, "or as one to be sent to ye Court, to solicite his causes. Divers have been "offered to him, but none hath been found void of some reasonable excep-"tions. If yo may lend him one of yours to this end for some time, yo shal "greatly pleasure him. And so I end, not doubting but at the time of ye "coming letter to yr hands, yo wilbe delivered of yr choler against me. "And so I wish yo a good return. From Greenwich, ye first of April, 1566.

"Yrs assured, as yo know,

"WILL. CECYLL."

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kingdom, as it had done the last year in Newhaven and in London. In April he was at Bourdeaux, as he had been at Thoulouse before. At Bourdeaux he was taken with a fever or ague, which creeping on him at first, came at length to that violence that he despaired of his life: and on a sudden it abated, and then he let blood; whereby in little more than a day he felt himself to grow towards recovery both in body and mind. The next day he hunted the hare, that he might enjoy a more free air; which exercise he continued for some days; and from the 1st of March to the 12th (he writ it to some of his friends as his diversion) his dogs caught nineteen hares.

His reflection upon his hearing of the Queen's going to Cambridge.

While he was in these southern parts of France, his friends wrote him word of the Queen's intended progress into the north, and that she would take a sight of Cambridge in her way, to visit that University, and to hear the scholars' disputations. When Smith heard it, he heartily wished to be among them; not to feast, or hunt, or to indulge his genius on this splendid occasion, (he was above those things,) but to see, as he said, his royal mistress a spectator there, in a place so dearly by him affected, and to partake of the *specimina* of those wits, and to take notice what new men of learning and ingenuity were sprung up in that University since he left it.

He composeth his book of the Commonwealth at Thoulouse.

At Thoulouse, in his leisure hours, he wrote three books of the English Commonwealth, (mentioned before,) which he entitled *De Republica Anglorum:* wherein he described in effect the whole form of it; especially in those things wherein it differed from others: and it differed almost in all things; so that the work grew greater than he thought of. He wrote it in our language, in a style between historical and philosophical, after that form as he conceived Aristotle wrote concerning divers of the Grecian commonwealths; which writings are now perished. Of this he wrote to his learned friend Haddon, in his correspondence with him in the year 1564; adding, that he had yielded a very copious argument to such as would dispute in a philosophical way of the single questions, and whe-

ther is better, that which is held for law in England, or that which in France is so held, and in other provinces which are governed by the Roman laws: for almost all, as he said, were different, and that he had in gross and in sum examined both. This he drew up in the year 1564; and as these writings were as yet but in rough draught, when written fair, he promised Haddon he would send them to him. And the value himself had of this his labour may appear in those words of his letter to the before-mentioned learned man: "You will see yourself certainly, as "I think, when you have read it over, that I was not care-"lessly conversant in our country's commonwealth." Some vacant spaces he had left in his manuscript here and there, because he had not with him one book of the English laws, nor had he there lawyers to consult with: therefore he wrote so much as the memory of things seen and read by him on the sudden suggested to him; and what was imperfect, he intended, when he returned home, at leisure to supply.

Anno 1565. Q. Eliz.

He inquireth for learned men in Paris.

While the learned Smith was in Paris, he could not forbear to inquire for the learned men there, to enjoy their conversation at his spare hours. Here he met with Peter Ramus the philosopher, and Ludovicus Regius an historian, and other professors of science, who were the King's readers. To Ramus's acquaintance Haddon had particularly recommended him; but the wars proclaimed between princes, and the times were such, that Smith could not so frequently converse and hold that familiarity with them that he wished; though with these in Paris his converse was so much, that he called them his *convictores*. But he added, that he had his *convictrices* too, *i. e.* his she-companions and daily guests, which created him as much sorrow and anxiety, as the others did pleasure. And these were (as he explained himself) solicitudes, cares, damage to his domestic concerns in England, greater charges than he could well bear, doubtful disputations, various emulations and opinions.

In a letter to Haddon. V. p. 74.

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Anno 1565. Q. Eliz.

He procures the printing of the answer to Osorius.

While Smith was here, he procured the printing of the answer to Osorius, for the vindication of the Queen, and the proceedings of the realm in the reformation of religion, as was mentioned before; when the reader was told of the difficulty that Smith met with, while he required that state's allowance for the publishing thereof. But at last he got it into the press at his own charge: which made Dr. Haddon, the author, after the publishing of the book, write to him, *Multum tibi responsum debet Osorianum, i. e.* that the answer to Osorius owed much to him. And as for Smith's judgment of this answer, it was this, as he wrote to the said Haddon, "That he conflicted with "an adversary too unequal for him; for Osorius brought "nothing beside the bare imitation of Cicero, and the ig- "norance of that he undertook to treat of: which Had- "don pointed him to, as it were, with his finger; yet with "much modesty, and without sharpness of words." By April 1564, Smith had so completed the printing of the book, that he sent over some copies to the Secretary.

His correspondence with Haddon, Ambassador in Flanders.

The aforesaid Dr. Haddon, Master of the Requests, was the Queen's Ambassador at Bruges, at the same time that our Smith was in the like quality in France; between whom a friendly and learned correspondence was maintained. They both were Ambassadors abroad in the years 1562, 1564, 1565, 1566. Divers of the letters written between them are printed in Haddon's posthumous pieces, published by Hatcher of Cambridge anno 1567. Smith was a great lover and reader of Plato, as Haddon was of Tully. In relation to which, thus did Haddon from Bruges write to Smith in France: [d] "Your Plato will not "suffer you, nor my Tully me, to be our own, who would "have us serve our country; and as we at first received "all that we have from it, so to return all back to it "again." This he said to comfort Smith and himself under their present distances from their country, their pains

[d] Plato, te non sinit esse tuus, nec meus me Cicero, qui patriæ nos servire volunt, et illi reddi omnia, unde universa prius accepimus.

and expences in their embassies for the service of their Queen and country; the troubles whereof they were apt sometimes to lay to heart.

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Anno 1565. Q. Eliz.

At another time, *viz.* in the year 1562, Haddon appealed to Smith, as a judge in a dispute between him and the French Ambassador at Bruges, upon Cicero's skill, both in law and philosophy. For Haddon happening to sup once with that Ambassador, upon some occasion Cicero was cited, when the Ambassador did admit him to be the best orator, but he would not allow him at all to be skilled in law, and that he was but a mean philosopher. Haddon stood up for the honour of his master, and affirmed that he was a very good lawyer, and a most excellent philosopher; whereupon they fell into a very hot argument, that they could hardly make an end. Concerning this, he took occasion in his next letter to write unto Smith, telling him, that he wished this controversy might have had his judgment, *cui non minus uni tribuo, quam Platoni poeta nescio quis, à reliquis destitutus: i. e.* to whom alone he attributed as much as a certain poet did to Plato, when he had none else of his side. Smith on the next occasion in his to Haddon, thus communicated his judgment: "That if any doubted whether Cicero was a "lawyer, it was not to be wondered at, because men for "the most part are ignorant of age and times: that Ci- "cero was not of those in that time that professed the ci- "vil law, but yet he was *jure consultissimus*, admirably "skilled in it: which not only many of his pleadings and "orations demonstrate, but his Topics to Trebatius. And "he esteemed himself so to have profited herein, that he "openly declared one day, *If they vexed him, he would "the third day after profess the civil law.* But he never "saw indeed Accursius, nor Bartholus, nor Baldus, nor "Jason, nor the Digests, nor Code of Justinian. A good "reason why, because they were not in being in his "time. But so thoroughly had he learned the laws of "that time, that unless he had been an orator, he had "been esteemed the learnedest civilian. If he that is a

Smith's opinion of Tully's philosophy and law.

CHAP. X.

Anno 1565. Q. Eliz.

"lawyer deny him to be a philosopher, that answer will "easily be given to him that Apelles gave the shoemaker, "*Let him not give his judgment beyond his slipper:* but "for his philosophy, he betook them that denied it to his "book *De Deo, De Divinatione,* or what he treated of in "his other philosophical dissertations."

His reflection on the troubles occasioned by Hales's book.

In April 1564, Secretary Cecil writ our Ambassador the news of the disturbance at Court, occasioned by John Hales's book, wrote in the last Parliament; which was the cause of his being cast into prison, and several others of the Court committed, or banished the Court. Of this Haddon (who was now at home) had also acquainted him, and called it *tempestas Halisiana, i. e.* the storm raised by Hales. This Hales was a passing good scholar, an hearty Protestant, thoroughly acquainted with the state of this kingdom, and a great Antipapist; he had been a courtier to King Edward, and an exile under Queen Mary, and now under this Queen, Clerk of the Hanaper: and fearing the succession of the Scotch Queen, a Papist, to the crown, if Queen Elizabeth should die unmarried and childless, he, by private consultation with others, resolved to take upon him to write a discourse to discuss the title to this crown after the Queen: and having in a book confuted and rejected the line of the Scotch Queen, made the line of the Lady Frances, that had been married to Grey, Duke of Suffolk, (who was daughter to the younger sister of King Henry VIII.) to be only next and lawful heir. She was mother to the Lady Katharine Grey, who had been privately married to Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford; and were now both in the Tower for that marriage, and under the Queen's displeasure. In April, Hales was committed to the Fleet for this bold and presumptuous act, and afterwards to the Tower, where he continued a great while; especially because he communicated these his conceits to sundry persons. The Lord John Grey, uncle to the Lady Katharine, was in trouble about it, and so was the Lord Keeper Bacon. And besides all this, Hales had procured sentences and counsels of lawyers

from beyond seas, to be written in maintenance of the Earl of Hertford's marriage, which seemed to have been by their consents only; for which the marriage had been declared invalid and null by the Archbishop of Canterbury: but hereat the Queen was much offended. In May, Hales's business came to be examined by the Secretary: after examination he was found to have procured books in defence of the Earl of Hertford's marriage, and likewise in approbation of the title of succession for the Lady Katharine. Upon this occasion thus did Smith the Ambassador write: [e] "As I am a man, I would not have any man "vexed; I could wish quietness to all the race of mankind, "and that whosoever would might philosophize freely: "but every man should mind his own business." He declared that he for his part was for a liberty of philosophizing; but whereas it was urged that they philosophized too much, he said, he thought what was done, was done more out of curiosity than malice. And whereas he saw so much danger and vexation, banishment from Court, and imprisonment of great men, happening upon the occasion of the said book, some for writing it, and some for reading it, he made this moral and wise reflection: [f] "I "plainly perceive how dangerous a thing it is to be too "forward in prying into the secret affairs of kings and "kingdoms."

[e] Ita homo sum, vexari nolim quemquam, quietos esse cuperem omnes mortales, et liberè philosophari qui velint, cæteros suam quemque rem agere.

[f] Video periculosum esse in rebus arcanis principum et regnorum nimis velle sapere.

CHAP. XI.

Smith goes over Ambassador again to demand Calais. His employment at home. Concerned in turning iron into copper.

Anno 1566. Q. Eliz. Smith now at home.

SMITH being come home from his embassy, the sight of his old friends, and the enjoyment of his native country, was a great joy to him. Haddon still remained Ambassador at Bruges; who, in the kalends of June, anno 1566, wrote to him, that he did almost envy him this his present happiness. [a] "You," said he, "have now recovered "your country, your prince, your consort, your friends, "your ease, and with the rest, the high commendation of "your embassy: whereas it is my unhappiness alone to "be deprived of all those comforts of my life." And no doubt Smith returned with the same praise for the management of his negotiation in France, as his friends in England gave him while he was in the execution of it; as the same Haddon signified to him not long after his first going into France, *viz.* that the most intelligent men of the Court attributed much to his wisdom and moderation; but above the rest, their common friend Cecil, the Queen's Secretary; who ever made honourable and friendly mention of him.

Anno 1567. Sent again to demand Calais.

Sir Thomas Smith spent this year in England among his friends. He had not been above twelve months at home, but he was sent again into France, in quality of the Queen's Ambassador extraordinary, to make a formal demand of Calais from the French, according to a treaty at the castle of Cambray eight years before, and when the last peace was made at Triers, Calais being then excepted in express words, and to be restored to England the second day of April, now next ensuing. Sir Henry Norris

[a] Tu patriam, principem, conjugem, amicos, otium, et præclarissimam legationis laudem pariter recuperavisti. Mea singularis infelicitas hæc omnia mea vitæ solatia detraxit.

was at present the Ambassador in ordinary there, who went over in February 1566: Sir Thomas followed the next month, *viz.* in March [b]; repairing privately to Calais, to be there the third day of April, to demand the town. Not as though they thought the governor would deliver it, but to avoid all cavillations which the French might invent, (for by law it was to be demanded at the very place,) and being not delivered, the sum of 500,000*l.* was forfeited to the Queen. Mr. Winter*, a great sea officer, passed secretly with him to take possession thereof, if they deceived the expectation of the English; and there were not passing three of the Council knew of Winter's going.

* Munitionum classicorum præfectus.

Cecil's letters to Sir Henry Norris, Cabal. p. 137.

Sir Thomas took his son, Mr. Smith, along with him, bringing him up in all generous and genteel accomplishments, that he might be fit to do service afterward to his Queen and country. And often he sent him over with letters and messages, as he did in the month of May this year 1567, with letters from himself and Sir Henry, his fellow Ambassador, containing the contents of this their troublesome negotiation.

Takes his son with him.

But to return to Smith's managery of this his charge, which he did in this formality: † he demanded Calais first at the gates of the town next the sea, in a loud voice in French, by the sound of a trumpet, of which an act was presently made by a public notary; to which were witnesses certain outlandish merchants, and others there happily present: and next coming to the French King, he demanded Calais again, together with Sir Henry Norris, the other Ambassador. That King remitted the matter to his council, where Hospital his Chancellor, and our Smith, argued the point largely and learnedly on both sides, which may be read in the history of Queen Elizabeth.

The manner of his demanding Calais.

†It was demanded April 9.

Camd. Eliz. p. 98, &c.

This being done, Smith comes over again, and was at

Sues for the place of Chancellor of the Duchy.

[b] It was March 22, 1566, that Sir Thomas Smith was sent with Sir Henry Norris into France, to demand the restitution of Calais, that ought to be delivered the 3d of April, being the end of eight years to the treaty of Cambray.

CHAP. XI.

Anno 1568. Q. Eliz.

Court about the 12th of May; and thus did he continue employed by the Queen in her service, both at home and abroad: and for his pains he justly waited for some preferment, as a gracious token of the Queen's acceptance of his services. And when in the year 1568, Sir Ambrose Cave, an old friend of his, deceased, who had been Chancellor of the Duchy, and one of the Queen's Privy Council, he solicited and laboured with Cecil to be admitted into his room[c]. He told the said Cecil, "that if any thing came, "or whatsoever came, he should and must think that it "came by him, and promised that he would not be un-"thankful; and that if the Queen were disposed to be-"stow this place upon him, he should reckon himself "not utterly abject of her Majesty;" which words point to some discontent in Smith's mind, as though he had taken it somewhat to heart, that no preferment had been conferred upon him during the ten years the Queen had reigned. Dr. Haddon, the Master of Requests, wrote also upon this occasion to the Secretary in Smith's behalf, that he might succeed in his suit; but withal, he wrote in that manner as though he conjectured his suit was in effect desperate; which he expressed with some trouble, concluding that it was destined, [d] "that as he (Haddon) was "to grow old among beggars, [for his office was to pre-"sent begging requests and suits to the Queen,] so Smith "to spend his life among turfs," meaning the country life

[c] When he sued for the place of Chancellor of the Duchy, this was his letter to Sir W. Cecil.

"Sir,

"I do understand, y^t S^r Ambros Cave is departed from this world, for y^e "w^ch I am sory; for he was my freend. Yf y^e Queen's Ma^tie be disposed at "this time to bestow upon me either his office, or eny other y^t shalbe va-"cant, w^ch shal be no charge to hir Highnes, I shal recon my self not utterly "abject of hir Ma^tie. And yf eny thyng com, or w^t soever shal come, I shal "and must thynk, y^t it cometh by you; and shal not thereof be unthankful, "w^ch thyng yee shal immediatly perceive. Thus I bid yow most hartely fare "wel. From Monthaut y^e fourth of April 1568.

"Y^rs alwais at commaundement

"T. SMITH."

[d] Ut inter glebas ille, ego inter mendicos consenescam.

which he lived in Essex; "but withal he wished the "Queen no worse counsellors than he." And so it fell out: Smith missed his suit, and Sir Ralph Sadleir became Chancellor of the Duchy. Anno 1568. Q. Eliz.

So that in the years 1567, 1568, 1569, 1570, Sir Thomas Smith was much in the country, living a retired life: during which time he served his country in distributing justice, and taking care of the peace and quiet of the Queen's subjects, and execution of her laws, in the quality of Justice of Peace, in that division of Essex, especially about the parts of Ongar and Epping, where he dwelt. Anno 1570. Sir Thomas in the country administering justice.

Among other causes that came before him, there happened certain matters of supposed witchcraft, which occasioned much disturbance among his neighbours; arising especially from two women, *viz.* one, Malter's wife of Theydon at Mount, the parish where Sir Thomas himself dwelt; and the other, Anne Vicars of Navestock, not far off. Witches by him examined.

The examination of the former he took in April 1570: against whom one evidence deposed, that about two years past she bore her husband in hand that he was bewitched: and as a remedy thereof, she caused a trivet to be set, and certain pieces of elder and white hazle wood to be laid upon the trivet across, with a fire under it; and then him, who was at that time not well in his wits, to kneel down and say certain prayers, as she taught him: and thereby, she said, he should be delivered of his bewitching, or his witch should consume as the fire did; which, when this evidence rebuked her for doing, as using witchcraft, she conceived an ill-will towards him. And he having a sheep-shearing about that time, and not inviting her thereto, being his neighbour, she, as he supposed, bewitched two of his sheep; for immediately after they were taken with sickness, their hinder legs so indisposed that they only could crawl, and died. The same man had a sow, being well when the sun went down, which the next morning was found dead, with her nose lying upon the Malter's wife.

CHAP. XI.

groundsel of this woman's house, where she never was fed, nor wont to come before.

Anno 1570. Q. Eliz.

Another witness deposed, that she being servant to a farmer's wife in the said parish of Theydon Mount, this goodwife Malter came to her mistress, who was going to London market, and desired her to bring her home some sprats; but she saying she came always loaden from London, denied her. Upon this, the deponent, then her hired maid, came from milking; and as she set her milk in the pan upon a loft, there was a speckled bird, as she thought, which fluttered among the milk-pans, and with her feet and wings slubbered therein: her mistress in the mean time called her away; but she endeavoured by a broom to sweep or drive away this bird; but it would not away, but went fluttering from pan to pan, and could not fly, but skip and hop. At the last, it went from the loft where the milk and wheat was, into the cheese loft; and then, being often called by her mistress, she came down, and being blamed for her long tarrying, she related how she was troubled with such a bird; and then her mistress came herself into the milk loft, and found it come down stairs a very toad; which after it was once come into the buttery, she could never see it more. And for the space of six weeks after, by no means nor diligence, nor change of churn nor cloths, could they have any butter; until that her mistress did bid her carry her milk, and churn at a neighbour's house; and there the milk made butter as it was wont to do before, and in the same milk-pans. Other evidences there were against this woman.

Anne Vicars.

In May, Sir Thomas took the depositions of several against Anne Vicars. A woman deposed, that about three years past she was taken with a strange sickness; her body disfigured, her lips great and black, and she almost out of her wits. She suspecting that she was bewitched by the said Anne, went to one Cobham of Rumford, who was thought to be cunning in such matters; and he declared to her that she was bewitched by the same woman, telling her the words which passed betwixt Anne Vicars and

her, whereby she conceived displeasure against her, and wrought her that mischief: and Cobham promised her, that as long as he lived she should have no power over her. And so it happened: for during his life she was recovered and continued well; but shortly after his death she fell again into her disease.

Another woman of Stapleford Abbots said, that about three years past she was coming from Rumford market with this Anne Vicars, and suddenly the said Anne cast up her nose into the air and smelt; which the other marvelled at, and asked her if she saw any thing, or if there were any carrion there? And she said, she smelt either a whore or a thief. At last she espied the wife of one Ingarsole, going a great way before them: whereat the said Vicars cried out with an oath, "I told you, I smelt "either a whore or a thief;" and making great haste to overtake her, when she came at her, she cast her apron upon the side of her face next unto her; and then went backwards a great way, with her face towards the said Ingarsole's wife, casting her apron over it, and making many crosses, saying, as it were, certain prayers; but what, this examinant could not tell; but marvelled much at her behaviour, and said she was to blame to slander her that was an honest woman, and so known among her neighbours for twenty years. But upon this, Ingarsole's wife fell extremely sick, and lost one of her eyes with a stroke, as she thought, that came unto her, she could not tell how, in the plain field, where neither was bush nor tree, or other creature.

And the said Mawd, Ingarsole's wife, examined, said, that the said Anne Vicars's daughter, about the time that this calamity befell her, did fell wood that was assigned in the common to her the said Mawd; whereupon she forbade her to do so any more, or else she would take away her bill. The next day the said wench came again; but she would not suffer her to carry away the wood: whereupon the said Anne Vicars fell out with her, and wished she might not be delivered of that she went with, being

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Anno 1570. Q. Eliz.

then great with child. This falling out was on the Monday, and on the Thursday she lost one of her eyes with a sudden stroke, as she thought, where no creature nor thing was by to hurt her; besides that she was extreme sick, and in great danger of her life.

Also one Agnes, wife of Thomas Combres, being examined, said, that since Michaelmas last, the said supposed witch fell out with her, and upon that she fell a cursing and banning at her, and wished her eyes out: whereupon within two days she fell down as dead, extremely sick, and hardly recovered it: and since that time she had marvellous pain in her eyes. These and divers more depositions Sir Thomas now took against this woman, of her supposed witchcraft, exercised upon her neighbours. But we have said enough of this. What prosecutions were made of these women, whom he seemed to have committed to gaol, this is not a place to inquire into.

Sir Thomas admitted into the Council.

Sir Thomas was in the month of March talked of to assist Cecil (then newly made Baron of Burghley) in the office of Secretary; and so to succeed in that room, as soon as the other should be made Lord Privy Seal, which was expected: but neither was he made Privy Seal, nor was Smith as yet admitted to that office. However he was now admitted into the Council.

Anno 1571. Labours about transmuting iron into copper.

Sir Thomas now divided his time between the country and the Court, but chiefly in the former; delighted with the divertisements and easy cares of his beloved seat in Essex. But he was not idle; for he had a busy active mind, and a philosophical head; and this put him, among other things, upon a project of alchymy about the year 1571, hoping to transmute iron into copper. Into this chargeable, but, as was hoped, gainful business, he brought the Secretary Cecil, who had also a philosophical genius, the Earl of Leicester, Sir Humfrey Gilbert, and others. The first occasion of this business was by one Medley, who had by vitriol changed iron into true copper, at Sir Thomas Smith's house at London, and after at his house in Essex. But this was too costly, as Sir Thomas saw, to

make a benefit by: therefore he propounded to find out here in England the *primum ens vitrioli*, and therewith to do the same work at a cheaper rate. Upon which, Sir Thomas, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, (a learned knight also, and of a projecting head,) and our Medley, entered into a company, under articles, to find this out; that is to say, that Medley should be employed in this business at the charge of the two other, till, by the profit he should reap from the thing found out, he might bear his proportion. The place where this was to be attempted and laboured was in the Isle of Wight, or at Poole, or elsewhere: but at Winchelsey he had made the first trial, because of the plenty and readiness of wood. He received of Sir Thomas and Sir Humphrey, an hundred and one pounds apiece, for the buying of vessels and necessaries. They removed to Poole, thinking this *ens* of *vitriol* to be there, and took a lease of land of the Lady Mountjoy, of 30*l.* per annum; for the payment of which, Sir Thomas, with the other two, entered into a bond of 1000*l.*

Anno 1571. Q. Eliz.

His progress therein.

While these things were in this state, Smith was sent Ambassador beyond sea; which was in 1572, as we shall see in due place. And a quarrel then happening between Medley and Sir Humphrey, (and Medley gone to Ireland, being reported to be run away,) the business lay asleep for some time: but Sir Thomas revived it at his return; going down himself to Poole, where he found arrears of rent due to the Lady Mountjoy, and above sixty pounds due to workmen, and no copper, nor any crocus of copper made. The satisfying of which debts, and other charges, cost him two hundred pounds; and after, for clearing of things at Poole, sending down at several times his nephews William Smith and John Wood thither.

Some lords come into the project.

And moreover, Smith had persuaded the Lord Treasurer and the Earl of Leicester to enter into the society, (this was now about December, anno 1574,) leaving them to satisfy themselves by sending some able or knowing person to Medley, to see his method and ability; and so accordingly to report it to them: and if they were satis-

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fied he could do it, then to consider of the terms Medley had propounded; and, if they thought good, to yield unto them. In fine, these lords were willing to come into the society, and they deposited each of them 100*l.* towards the carrying it on; and it was to be ratified by a patent to be obtained from the Queen. Medley was now removed to Anglesey, where was fuel, earth, and water, proper for his business, being sufficient to do it for ever, or at the least for a very long time.

The projectors formed into a society.

The things which he undertook to do were these: 1. To make of raw iron good copper, and of the same weight and proportion, abating one part in six; as six hundred ton of iron should, by boiling, make five hundred ton of perfect copper. 2. The liquor wherein the iron was boiled, to make copperas and allum ready for the merchant; which, keeping the price they then bore, should of the liquor of five hundred ton of copper be worth 10,000*l.* that is, for every ton 2000*l.* Sir Thomas was satisfied that true copper was made of iron; but whether all the other incident expences, which would be considerable, would countervail, that was the matter to be examined.

The society had seen the trial of crocus at London; which might be satisfaction in part. Smith, for his own part, made no doubt that copper might be made that way, and two or three other ways also, as he told the lords: but of the whole work, which rested in many other points, as of the proportion of iron to the crocus, of the crocus to the copper, of the allum and copperas that came of it; with what time of boiling, what expences of fire and men's labour, carriage, buildings, vessels, and all other things, which be many; this, he said, could not be done, nor well esteemed, nor judged upon at London, but at the place. Whereupon he propounded to the two lords to send down two persons, and he and Sir Humphrey Gilbert, one or two others, whom they might trust: these together to view and see the doings, and one be witness to the other; and so all parties to be fully satisfied by the answer of these viewers to every part of their instructions and arti-

cles, what they should find true according to Medley's promise, and what not, and the occasion thereof: that so the society might be broken, if it were deceit and abuse, or gone forward with, if it were not so. CHAP. XI. Anno 1571. Q. Eliz.

At length, there arising so much probability of success in the project, he got the patent of the society signed in January 1574; and therein it was styled, *The Society of the new Art;* and the two lords put into the stock an 100*l.* apiece more. Now when the patent was signed, and the Great Seal obtained, their next work was to forward the business with all speed, that they might lie no longer at great expence. Smith excited the Lord Burghley, that they might proceed to a perfect beginning of the work in the manner of a society. The Earl of Leicester was very forward, offering iron, and lead, and money also, and making more vessels. Smith also put on the Lord Burghley to make orders when and how it should begin; and that one man or two should be fixed upon, as chief overseers, to take care and charge of the works; who should be answerable to the whole society; making clear books for one day prefixed, what the daily, ordinary, and extraordinary expences be, and what the comings in again weekly of copper, allum, copperas, and other things be, and were like to be: then what common seal for the whole society: and that Burghley also would, out of other statutes for other societies, cull out some good and wholesome statutes and orders for this; which without a society, he said, could not well stand; and the fewer statutes, and well kept, the better. And lastly, he desired that all might be ready, so as by the 10th or 15th of February the work might be fully begun; that so by the last of March a sure guess might be made what were like to ensue thereof. One Sir John Hibbord was the man agreed upon to have the chief charge of the provisions for all things necessary for the work, and for disbursing money by accounts: and to him the Earl of Leicester had given order for iron, cask, and lead. And one Cole was appointed by Sir Thomas to be over the works, to be the

The patent for it signed. See Appendix, No. VII.

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chief doer and worker of the melting, and not to go from the work. There was also a clerk to keep the reckoning, to see what the labourers did daily, and weekly what was melted and made in copperas and allum.

The business finds delays.

But notwithstanding all Smith's hastening, the matter suffered delay, and was retarded by Medley, the chief undertaker, who loitered in London till the 7th of March, making excuses of wanting money to defray his charges here; that he did not perceive that the rest were all agreed; that he thought himself hardly dealt withal, if he should not be allowed for the charges in making experiments now this two years and more, and for his buildings and vessels, the sum of 400*l*. But in reply to him, Smith urged, that for two years past Medley and Topcliff (who was his partner) had made crocus, of which they might have made benefit for the reimbursing of themselves. They said they sent it away for essays, and part of it was purloined. Smith said again, that he might, as well as they, claim to have his allowance, he and Sir Humphrey Gilbert being out of purse 400*l*. in making trials, paid into the hands of Medley and to the Lord Mountjoy. And he resented these prolongations to my Lord Burghley in this manner; that Medley's skill began by this time to be known, which made him jealous that his delays would wholly spoil their business: that Sir John Perot had a whole discourse of the complete manner of the work in writing; that the Lord Mountjoy had gotten one of Medley's chief workmen to him; that divers in the countries knew the earths and the working of them. And yet, said he, discontentedly, we do nothing; and wished that he might go down himself: for which he was very earnest, undertaking within fourteen days to bring things to a full certainty, as to the understanding what truth or likelihood there was in the matter; assuring his Lordship, that he was not satisfied until they were certified from thence by order and by accounts: that they might compare the time, the charge, and the labour, with the gains that came of it, and in what kind it was and should arise. And that the ill suc-

cess, which it seems they met with at Poole, and at the Lady Mountjoy's works, taught to trust little to words and promises, nor to experiments made afar off, nor to the accounts of men of that faculty [*i. e.* alchymists,] "Fain "they would be fingering of money," said he; "but when "it is once in their hands, we must seek it in the ashes." CHAP. XI. Anno 1571. Q. Eliz.

I find no more of this; but I make no doubt Sir Thomas smarted in his purse for his chymical covetousness, and Gilbert seems to have been impoverished by it: and Medley was beggared; for I find him in the Counter two years after, *viz.* in the year 1576, made a prisoner there by Courtis, and some others, who were commissioners from the Lord Burghley, Lord Treasurer, for debt I make no question. Though the Lady Mary Sydney, wife to Sir Henry Sydney, was concerned for him, having, it is probable, some opinion of his skill in chymistry, and wrote to the said Lord in his favour, and against those that prosecuted him: but he gave her his grave and wise counsel with respect unto him, knowing better than she what kind of man he was. Thechymist a beggar.

Thus did this matter detain Sir Thomas Smith three or four years, to his no little care and cost too.

CHAP. XII.

Smith waits upon the Queen at Audley-End. Goes on embassy to France. Concludes a league. Concerned in proposals of a match for the Queen.

Anno 1571. Q. Eliz. Smith examineth the Duke of Norfolk's secretary.

THE Queen was at Audley-End in August this year. Here Sir Thomas Smith now was; perhaps repairing thither to congratulate her Majesty's coming so near Walden, his native town, or to wait upon her for some favour for that place, or otherwise. At that juncture, a good portion of gold was intercepted, going into Scotland to the Lord Herris, for the help of the Scotch Queen's party, together with a letter in cypher, sent by Higford, the Duke of Norfolk's secretary: by which it was concluded, the Duke was again meddling in the matter of matching with her; for which he had a reprimand some time before this, and promised the Queen to concern himself no more in that affair. Higford was upon this taken up, and committed to the Tower in London; and Sir Thomas was sent thither on the first of September, to take his examination; who confessed to him, that the Duke commanded him to write to one Lawrence Banister, the Duke's man, that he should see secretly conveyed 600*l.* to the said Lord Herris, to be by him conveyed to Liddington and Graunge: whereupon the Duke was put into the Tower; and Smith was one of those that by the Queen's appointment attended him thither.

Goes Ambassador again to France.

Another [a] embassy now fell upon Smith. Mr. Francis Walsingham, the present Ambassador in France, growing very indisposed in his health, desired to be released of his employment: whereupon, though Henry Killigrew, Esq. was sent Ambassador in October thither, in November the Lord Grey, or Sir Peter Grey, were intended to go and

[a] In this embassy to France, here mentioned, he had his instructions dated February 13, 1571; and is entitled there of the Queen's Privy Council, but not Secretary. *Comp. Amb.* p. 154.

assist Walsingham; but in December, Sir Thomas Smith, who was now one of the Privy Council, was the man pitched upon. His business was to treat of entrance into a strait league of amity with that King; and withal, in case that Court renewed the motion for marriage with the Duke of Alençon, (which was in transaction the summer past, but received some interruption,) he was to treat thereof.

Anno 1549. Q. Eliz.

To make a firm amity against Spain.

For however averse or negligent the Queen seemed to be in it before, yet now her courtiers so earnestly calling upon her for her own surety, and that of her state, which would be much advanced through the hope of her issue, she shewed so good disposition thereto, that the Earl of Leicester wrote to Sir Thomas, that she so earnestly and assuredly affirmed to him the same good disposition, that he verily thought, that yet once again with good handling, a good conclusion would follow. Smith received his dispatch about the 6th of December: he plied the business he was sent for diligently; for it was thought very necessary to join in a good league with France, to check the greatness of Spain, and to be the better secured against his threatenings.

An article debated by Smith.

In this treaty it is worth taking notice of one article in debate: which was, that the two princes should mutually assist each other; and if the Queen were invaded for the cause of religion, that the French King should yield her his assistance. This article, when almost all the rest were well accorded, that King declined to have put into the treaty, though he promised to perform it most faithfully: and though it were not expressly mentioned in the league, yet such general words should be used, that the matter of religion should be contained therein. To which Smith replied, "that that could not be; and that no general words "could contain it, if the party that was bound would say, "that it was against his conscience, or he meant it not." To which the King said, "that he would write to the "Queen his sister, with his own hand, what he meant as "to that; and that he would as well defend her, even in

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" that cause, as if it were expressed in words: and that " which he said he would keep, though he died for it."

Anno 1571. Q. Eliz.

But this King was a great dissembler, which our Ambassador probably knew well enough, but gave him this discreet answer; " That for him, he thought no less, and he " was sure the Queen his mistress took him to be a " faithful prince, and constant to his words as any was " living: but when they spake of treaties, they were not " made in words, nor in such letters missive, but after an- " other authentical sort, sworn and sealed; without which, " he could not," he said, " for his part, take it substan- " tially and orderly done; and besides, that the treaty " was not personal but perpetual, for him and his suc- " cessors."

His argument with the French Queen.

And when the Queen-Mother would have shuffled off this and some other articles, saying, " that when Mareshal " Montmorency should be sent over into England from " the French King to the Queen, and the Earl of Leices- " ter should come to that Court from the said Queen, to " see the league sworn by each prince, then all things " should be done as the Queen should desire;" Smith answered, " that he knew the fashion of leagues; and that it " must be agreed upon between the commissioners, that " no words be altered, then subscribed with the hands of " both the parties; the French commissioners delivering " the part signed with their hands to those of England, " and the commissioners of England next to them: then " the prince causeth it to be made under the Great Seal of " the realm, and so to be delivered to each other's Ambas- " sador: and that he that came to see it sworn to, might " make a new league, if the princes would; but to alter " that that was made, he could not, for the princes were " bound to ratify and swear to that on which the com- " missioners were agreed: and that it were not wisdom," as he added, " to send such personages as they spake of " to an uncertain league: and he might consider that " Queen Elizabeth his mistress would not do it." This conference happened March the 1st, 1571.

After much pains, this article and another about the Scotch Queen was agreed; and Queen Elizabeth was only to give her consent to finish this happy and advantageous league: and to excite the Queen hereunto, Sir Thomas, with Walsingham, did freely give her advice to this tenor; "That it was for the assurance of her person and crown, "as she was a prince lawful and natural, and had a crown "imperial; and that she did it so by her laws, as God's "laws and hers willed it to be done: that foreign princes "that were her friends, would and must take it well; "and that such as were not, would rather laugh at her, "and be glad of it, if she did it not; and, when they "should see time, take occasion to endanger her Majesty "thereby." The Queen soon after signified her consent: and so in the month of April ensuing, at Blois the league was concluded, and signed the 18th or 19th day; which, according as Smith and his colleague did conceive, should be with as great assurance and defence of the Queen as ever was or could be; the two realms being so near and ready to defend her, if it were required. And in case Spain should threaten, or shew ill offices, as it had of late done against the Queen's safety, it would be afraid hereafter so to do, seeing such a wall adjoined, as Smith wrote; which he therefore hoped would be the best league that ever was made with France, or any other nation, for her Majesty's surety. His good conceit he had of this league did further appear by what he wrote in another letter soon after to the Lord Burghley, "That now it "could not be said, that her Majesty was altogether "alone, having so good a defence of so noble, courageous, "and so faithful a prince of *his word*," (but herein our Ambassador was mistaken in his man, none being so *false of* his word, and treacherous as he, all covered over with most artificial dissimulation,) "and so near a neighbour, "provided for, and bespoken beforehand against any need. "Partly that, and partly the trouble in Flanders, (which "he trusted God had provided to deliver his poor ser- "vants there from the Antichristian tyranny,) should make

Smith persuades the Queen. She consents to the league.

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" her Highness enjoy more quietly both England and Ire-
" land, and a better neighbour of Scotland."

Anno 1571. Q. Eliz.

He loved not many words.

When Monsieur De Foix came to him and his colleague, with the draught of the whole league in French, which before was in Latin, and the matters that passed *pro* and *con*, (which he said was, that the King might understand it,) and had made a new preface, Smith did not much stick at it: and acquainting the Secretary Cecil (now Lord Burghley) with it, he opened to him the reason of it. " I am old," said he, " I love not much talk, and " would fain be dispatched honestly homeward. So the " effect be there indeed, and our Queen not deceived, I " care for no more, that done." Smith loved to do his business well and soundly, and yet to knit it up with brevity and expedition. Thus again, when the French Deputy urged much in this treaty the Scotch Queen, that she might be sent safe home to her country; a thing which the English Ambassadors had order not to deal in, by no means; he began to amplify upon that in a long oration: but at the conclusion, Smith told him in short, " for all " your reason you must pardon me. I know you are a " good rhetorician, and you have rhetorical ornaments at " will to make; and so have I on the contrary side, if I " would bestow my time in that sort. We are the Queen's " Majesty's servants, and we have shewed our reasons so " good, that no man could deny that we should not agree " unto it."

His hardship in France.

While Smith was in this country, he was forced to follow the Court from place to place; but it being winter pinched him sore: at Thoulouse it almost cost him his life, and had made an end of him, had it not been for strong waters, which he used for his stomach morning and evening. At Blois, where he remained after Candlemas, he endured the greatest cold that ever he felt, and most continual: and notwithstanding the cordial waters he used, he was scarce able to resist the extreme cold of the weather, there being for thirty days together continual frost and snow: neither was there wood plenty, nor good chim-

neys for fire; and in his bedchamber he could make no fire at all.

Anno 1571. Q. Eliz.

Communication between the Queen-Mother and Smith, concerning the Queen's marriage.

In this embassy, the league being concluded, the Queen-Mother, one day in March (*anno exeunte*) in the King's garden at Blois, brake her desire of a marriage between Queen Elizabeth and her second son, the Duke D'Alençon; asking Smith the Ambassador, whether he knew how the Queen would fancy the marriage with her said son? "Madam," said he, "you know of old, except I "have a sure ground, I dare affirm nothing to your Ma-"jesty." When she said again, "that if the Queen were "disposed to marry, she saw not where she might marry "so well: that as for those she had heard named, as the "Emperor's son, or Don John of Austria, they were both "less than her son, and of less stature by a good deal; "and if she would marry, it were pity any more time "were lost." Smith liking well enough the motion, replied to this, "that if it pleased God that the Queen "were married, and had a child, all these brags and all "these treasons (he meant of the Queen of Scots and "her party) would soon be appalled: and on condition "she had a child by Monsieur D'Alençon, for his part he "cared not, if they had the Queen of Scots in France;" [which was an article propounded by the French King in the fore-mentioned treaty, but by no means allowed by the English Ambassadors;] "for then," he said, "they "would be as careful and as jealous over her for the "Queen of England's surety, as the Queen's subjects, or "she herself was." The Queen-Mother then subjoined, "that it was true; and without this marriage, if she "should marry in another place, she could not see how "this league and amity could be so strong as it was." Our Ambassador answered, "it was true, the knot of "blood and marriage was a stronger seal than that which "was printed in wax, and lasted longer, if God gave good "success: but yet all leagues had not marriage joined "with them, as this might, if it pleased God." To which she joined her wish, and added, "that if it should so hap-

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" pen, she would herself make a start over and see the " Queen; the which of all things she most desired." To which again the Ambassador said, " that if he had at that " present as ample commission, as he had at the first for " Monsieur [D'Anjou,] the matter should soon, by God's " grace, be at an end." The Queen wished he had; and asked him, " if he should have such an one when he went " into England, whether he would not come again to exe- " cute it?" " Yes, Madam," said he, " most gladly, on " so good an intent I would pass again the seas, though I " were never so sick for it."

Further discourse on the same argument.

Another day, in the same month of March, the Queen-Mother met Smith the Ambassador in the same garden, and having discourse concerning other matters, as of the Queen of England's danger from the Queen of Scots, who now applied herself to Spain, she thus brought in the talk again of marriage; asking him whether his mistress did not see, that she should be always in danger until she married: and that once done, and that in some good house, who dared attempt any thing against her? " Then," said he, " he thought if she were once married, all in Eng- " land that had any traitorous hearts would be discou- " raged: for one tree alone (as he ingeniously explained " the matter) may soon be cut down, but when there be " two or three together, it is longer a doing; and one shall " watch for the other. But if she had a child, then all " these bold and troublesome titles of the Scotch Queen " or others, that make such gaping for her death, would " be clean choaked up." The Queen cried merrily, " she " saw she might have five or six very well." " Would to " God," said the Ambassador, " she had one." " No," said she, still merrily, " two boys, lest the one should die, " and three or four daughters to make alliance with us " again, and other princes, to strengthen the realm." " Why then," said Smith, as jocularly, " you think that " Monsieur le Duc shall speed." With that she laughed, and said, " she desired it infinitely: and then she would " trust to see three or four at the least of her race, which

" would make her indeed not to spare sea and land to see " her Majesty and them. And if she could have fancied " my son D'Anjou," said she, " as you told me, why not " this of the same house, father and mother, and as vi- " gorous and lusty as he, or rather more? and now he be- " ginneth to have a beard come forth: and as to his sta- " ture," she told the Ambassador, " that the said Duke " her son was as tall as himself, or very near." " For that " matter," said he again, " that for his part he made little " account, if the Queen's Majesty could fancy him." Add- ing this story, " that Pipin the Short married Bertha " the King of Almain's daughter, who was so little to her, " that he was standing in Aix, in a church there, she tak- " ing him by the hand, and his head not reaching to her " girdle: and yet he had by her Charlemagne, the great " Emperor and King of France, who was reported to be " almost a giant in stature." To which the Ambassador added, " the mention of Oliver Glesquin, the Britain Con- " stable, which the French made so much of, and lay bu- " ried among the kings at St. Denys, if he were no bigger " than he was there pourtrayed upon his tomb, was very " short, scarce four foot long: but yet he was valiant, " hardy, and courageous above all in his time, and did the " Englishmen most hurt." Thus ingeniously did Smith hold the conference with the Queen-Mother.

His thoughts of the Queen's marrying.

But as to his opinion of the Queen's marriage, wherein he perceived she was but backward, (and a marriage he and the best statesmen in those times reckoned the only means for the peace and safety of the Queen and king- dom, against the disturbances and pretences of the Scotch Queen and her friends,) the Ambassador was full of sad and uneasy thoughts: for so at this time he opened his mind to the Lord Burghley, " that all the world did see, that they " wished her Majesty's surety, and long continuance; and " that marriage, and the issue of her Highness's body, " should be the most assurance of her Highness, and of " the wealth of the realm. The place, and the person, for " his part, he remitted to her Majesty. But what she

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"meant to maintain still her danger, and not to provide "for her surety," he assured his Lordship, "he could see "no reason. And so prayed God to preserve her long to "reign by some unlooked for miracle: for he could not "see, by natural reason, that she went about to provide "for it." And soon after, when Smith had sent messages two or three for the resolution of the English Court about the marriage, which the French were so earnest for, and in great hopes of, and no answer came, "he lamented to "the aforesaid Lord, that he and his colleague Walsing- "ham could say nothing of it when they were asked: "and that they were sorry in their hearts to see such un- "certain, so negligent, and irresolute provision for the "safety of the Queen's person, and of her reign; praying "God Almighty, of his almighty and miraculous power to "preserve her long to reign over her people; and that his "grace and mercy would turn all to the best."

His concern for the Queen's sickness;

In the midst of these cares of our Ambassador, the Lord Burghley wrote to him of a matter that put him and his colleague into a great consternation. It was concerning the Queen's falling sick of the smallpox, and withal of her speedy recovery again. His careful mind for this matter he thus expressed in his next letter to the said Lord: "That he and his fellow read the news of the "Queen's illness together in a marvellous agony, but hav- "ing his medicine ready, (which was, that her Majesty "was within an hour recovered,) it did in part heal them "again. But that, as his Lordship wrote of himself, that "the care did not cease in him, so he might be assured it "did as little cease in them; calling to their remembrance, "and laying before their eyes, the trouble, the uncer- "tainty, the disorder, the peril and danger, that had been "like to follow, if at that time God had taken her from "them; whom he styled *the stay of the commonwealth, "the hope of their repose, and that lanthorn of their light "next God:* not knowing whom to follow, nor certainly "where to light another candle."

Another great solicitude of his at this time was, as the

Queen's sickness, so her slowness to resolve, and the tedious irresolutions at Court; of which he spake in some passion after this sort: "That if the Queen did still continue in extremities to promise, in recoveries to forget, "what shall we say, but as the Italians do, *Passato il pericolo, gabbato il fango?* He told that Lord moreover, "that he should perceive by their proceedings in their "embassy, what justly might be required was easy to be "done: but if her Majesty deceived herself, and with irresolution made all princes understand, that there was "no certainty of her or her Council, but dalliance and "farding off of time, she should then first discredit her "ministers, which was not much, but next and by them "discredit herself; that is, to be counted uncertain, irresolute, unconstant, and for no prince to trust unto, but "as to a courtier, who had words at will, and true deeds "none." These were expressions proceeding somewhat, as may be perceived, from his spleen, and partly from his present indisposition of body; which he seemed to be sensible of: for he begged his Lordship's pardon for what he had said, rendering his reason, "that he had been kept "there so long, that he was then in an ague both in body "and in spirit: and that as the humours in his body "made an ague there, (of which he wished it would "make an end,) so that irresolution at the Court he "hoped would help to conclude, that he might feel no "more miseries, which he feared those that came after "should feel; because we will not see," said he, "the "time of our visitation." Thus did Smith express his discontents into the bosom of his trusty friend, for the mismanagement of public affairs, as he conceived, discovering, as his zeal and affection to the Queen and the state, so the temper of his mind, somewhat inclined to heat and choler. This he writ from Blois on Good-Friday.

Anno 1571. Q. Eliz. And the irresolutions of the Court.

While Sir Thomas Smith was here Ambassador, the treaty of marriage was in effect concluded between the Prince of Navarre and the Lady Margaret, the present

The Queen of Navarre sends to Sir Thomas.

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Anno 1571. Q. Eliz.

French King's sister; which looked then very well toward the cause of religion, and both that Ambassador and his colleagues, Walsingham and Killigrew, liked it well. One matter in debate, and the chief, was about the manner of solemnizing the marriage. Whereupon they sent to the Queen of Navarre a true copy of the treaty of the marriage between King Edward the Sixth, and the late Queen of Spain, the French King's sister: wherein it was agreed, that she should be married according to the form of the Church of England; which stood the said Queen of Navarre in such good stead, that she produced it to the Queen-Mother of France: to which they took exceptions, and said it was no true copy of the treaty. Whereupon she, the Queen of Navarre, sent to Sir Thomas Smith, who happened to be at that very treaty. By her messenger she signified, that she sent to him to know (because he was a dealer in the same) whether he would not justify it to be a true copy. To whom Sir Thomas answered, "That knowing the great good-will his mistress did bear "her, and how much she desired the good success of that "marriage, as a thing that tended to the advancement of "religion, and repose of this realm, he could not but in "duty avow the same, and be willing to do any good of-"fice that might advance the said marriage."

CHAP. XIII.

Made Chancellor of the Garter. Comes home. Becomes Secretary of State. His advice for forwarding the Queen's match. His astonishment upon the Paris massacre.

SIR THOMAS being still abroad in France, the Queen conferred upon him the Chancellorship of the Order of the Garter, in the month of April, as some reward of the league that he had taken so much pains in making: for which he thanked her Majesty, and said it must needs be to him many times the more welcome, because that, without his suit, and in his absence, her Highness of her gracious goodness did remember him. Anno 1572. Q. Eliz. The Queen gives him the Chancellorship of the order.

About June 1572, he came home with the Earl of Lincoln, Lord Admiral, who was sent over to take the oath of the French King for the confirmation of the treaty; which being done by the Queen's command, he was no longer to abide in France, but to return at his best convenience. Comes home.

It was not long from this time, that the old Lord Treasurer, Marquis of Winchester, died; and the Lord Burghley, Secretary of State, succeeded in his place. Then Smith was called to the office of Secretary, *viz.* June 24[a], having some time before assisted the Lord Burghley in that station. Made Secretary.

And surely it was the opinion of his great learning, as well as his long experience and other deserts, that preferred him; for his learning had rendered him very famous in the Court. A poet in those times, writing an heroic Famed in the Court for his learning.

[a] Whereas it is said there that Smith was made Secretary June 24, 1572; in a diary of Cecil's it is set down to be June 24, 1571. And in a letter of the said Cecil's to Walsingham, Ambassador in France, he writ, that he trusted Sir Thomas Smith should be admitted to the Council to-morrow, (that is, March 4, 1570,) and shortly after to be Secretary. *Compl. Amb.* p. 54.

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poem to the Queen, therein describing all her great officers one after another, thus depainted this her Secretary:

Anno 1572. Q. Eliz.

Inde tibi est altis Smythus a gravibusque Secretis,
Doctrinæ titulis et honoris fulgidus, ut qui
Pierius vates, prompto facundus et ore,
Et cui solliciti exquisita peritia juris,
Astronomus, physicusque, theologus, insuper omni
Eximie multifaria tam structus in arte,
Ut sedes in eo Musæ fixisse putentur.

Wherein, of all the Queen's wise and noble counsellors, Smith her Secretary is made to be the deeply learned man about her, as being an ingenious poet, an excellent speaker, of exquisite skill in the civil law, in astronomy, in natural philosophy and physic, in divinity, and in a word, so richly furnished in all the arts and sciences, that the Muses themselves might be supposed to have taken up their seat in him.

Smith's device for a view between Monsieur and the Queen.

And thus we see Smith reinstated again in that place which four and twenty years ago he enjoyed under King Edward. Smith now being Secretary, and Walsingham resident in the French Court, and the matter of the match for Duke d'Alençon and the Queen transacted earnestly this year, the main of this matter went through Smith's hands: and thus it stood. The French King and Queen-Mother, and the Duke and that Court, were extremely eager for it, and so was the English nation too; supposing it the best way for the security of her Majesty and her crown. But the Queen herself was but cold in the matter; and when an interview was moved between her and the Duke, she refused to yield to it upon some scruples. Whereat Secretary Smith, to set it forward, that it might not be suspended on such a point, devised that the Duke should come over hither without the ceremony of an invitation: for, as he wrote to Walsingham in August, he was sorry so good a matter should, upon so nice a point, be deferred; adding, "that one might say,

" that the lover would do little, if he would not take pains " once to see his love, but she must first say yea, before " he saw her, or she him. Twenty ways," said he, " might " be devised why he might come over and be welcome, " and possibly do more in an hour than he might in two " years [otherwise.] *Cupido ille qui vincit omnia in oculos insidet, et ex oculis ejaculatur, et in oculos utriusque videndo, non solum, ut ait poeta, fœmina virum, sed vir fœminam.* What force, I pray you, can hearsay, and *I think* and *I trust* do, in comparison of that, *cum præsens præsentem tuetur, et alloquitur, et furore forsitan amoris ductus amplectitur?* And saith to himself, and openly, that she may hear, *Teneóne te mea, an etiamnum somno volunt fœminæ videri cogi ad id quod maximè cupiunt?* " If we be cold, it is our part: besides the person, the sex " requires it. Why are you cold? Is it not a young man's " part to be bold, courageous, and to adventure? If he " should have [a repulse] he should have but *honorificam repulsam.* The worst that can be said of him is but a " *Phaeton, quam si non tenuit, magnis tamen excidit ausis.*" Adding, that so far as he could perceive, " this was " the only anchor, this the dye to be cast for us." Or else nothing was to be looked for, but still and continual dalliance and doubtfulness, so far as he could see. Thus, in his royal mistress's and the nation's behalf, he could talk and direct like a master of love. This device and counsel, I suppose, was hinted to the French Court; and it was not long, but Duke d'Alençon accordingly came over, to make his address to the Queen.

The Parisian massacre happening in August, so treacherous and so inhuman, that all the world stood amazed at it, Secretary Smith abhorred, and wrote his thoughts of it in this following letter to Walsingham, then Ambassador there:

" Sir,

His thoughts of the massacre at Paris.

" This accident in France seemeth to us so strange, and " beyond all expectation, that we cannot tell what to say " to it: and the excuse [*tam exilis*] *so slender* or fraudulent,

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" (namely, that the Hugonots had intended to have made " some dangerous disturbances in the kingdom, and there- " fore the King was forced to do this for his own safety,) " that we wot not what to think of it. The matter appears " all manner of ways so lamentable, the King so suddenly, " and in one day to have despoiled himself and his realm " of so many notable captains, so many brave soldiers, so " wise and so valiant men, as, if they were unguilty of " that which is laid unto them, it is most pitiful: if they " were guilty, *cur mandati causa damnati sunt ac cæsi?* " in such sudden and extreme dealings, *cito sed sera pœ-* " *nitentia solet sequi;* if it were sudden, and not of long " time premeditated before: and if so, the worse and more " infamous. Thus you see what privately any man may " think of this fact. I am glad yet that in these tumults " and bloody proscriptions you did escape, and the young " gentlemen that be there with you; and that the King " had so great care and pity of our nation, so lately with " strait amity confederate with him. Yet we hear say, " that he that was sent by my Lord Chamberlain to be " schoolmaster to young Wharton, being come the day " before, was then slain. Alas! he was acquainted with no- " body, nor could be partaker of any evil dealing. How " fearful and careful the mothers and parents be here of " such young gentlemen as be there, you may easily guess " by my Lady Lane, who prayeth very earnestly that her " son may be sent home with as much speed as may be: " and if my Lady, your wife, with your daughter, and the " rest, with such as may be spared, were sent away home, " until this rage and tempest were somewhat appeased, " you shall be the quieter, and disburdened of much of " your care. You would not think how much we are de- " sirous to hear what end these troubles will have; whe- " ther it rangeth further into all France, or die, and will " cease here at Paris.

" Our merchants be afraid now to go into France; and " who can blame them? who would, where such liberty is " given to soldiers, and where *nec pietas nec justitia* doth

" refrain and keep back the unruly malice and sword of " the raging popular? Monsieur la Mote is somewhat " spoken to in this matter: and now the vintage, as you " know, is at hand; but our traffic into Rouen, and other " places in France, is almost laid down with this new fear. " It grieveth no man in England so much as me: and in- " deed I have, in some respect, the greatest cause." [I suppose, because he was the great maker of the league between that King and the Queen, and did so assure the Queen of the integrity, truth, and honour of the said King.] " Fare you well. From Woodstock, the 12th of " September, 1572.

" Yours always assured,

" THOMAS SMITH."

" P. S. I most heartily thank you for the book of the past " troubles in France. But, alas! who shall now write " worthily of the treasons and cruelties more barba- " rous than ever the Scythians used?"

His detestation of it.

And in the same month, when upon some treachery feared to be acted upon Walsingham, he was sent for home for some time; and tidings being brought of the massacres upon the Protestants at Rouen and other places, as well as at Paris; thus did this good man express his detestation of these practices: " The cruel murders of " Rouen are now long ago written unto us, when we " thought all had been done: and by the same letters was " written unto us, that Dieppe was kept close, and the " same executions of the true Christians looked for there, " but as then not executed. Howbeit Sigoigne did war- " rant all our Englishmen to be out of danger, and not to " be afraid. But what warrant can the French make now? " seals and words of princes being traps to catch inno- " cents, and bring them to the butchery. If the Admiral, " and all those martyred on that bloody Bartholomew day, " were guilty, why were they not apprehended, imprisoned, " interrogated, and judged; but so much made of as might " be, within two hours of the assassination? Is that the

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" manner to handle men either culpable or suspected? So " is the journier slain by the robber, so is the hen of the " fox, so the hind of the lion, so Abel of Cain, so the in- " nocent of the wicked, so Abner of Joab. But grant they " were guilty, they dreamt treason that night in their " sleep; what did the innocents, men, women, and children, " at Lyons? What did the sucking children and their mo- " thers at Rouen deserve, at Caen, at Rochelle? What is " done yet we have not heard; but I think shortly we " shall hear. Will God, think you, still sleep? Shall not " their blood ask vengeance? Shall not the earth be ac- " cursed that hath sucked up the innocent blood poured out " like water upon it? I am most sorry for the King, whom I " love, whom I esteem the most worthy, the most faithful " prince of the world; the most sincere monarch now liv- " ing." [Ironically spoken, no question, by Smith, because to him that King used to profess so much integrity.]

" I am glad you shall come home; and would wish you " were at home, out of that country so contaminate with " innocent blood, that the sun cannot look upon it, but to " prognosticate the wrath and vengeance of God. The " ruin and desolation of Jerusalem could not come, till all " the Christians were either killed there, or expelled from " thence. But whither do I run, driven with just passions " and heats?"

And in another letter, " All that be not bloody and An- " tichristian must needs condole and lament the misery " and inhumanity of this time. God make it short, and " send his kingdom among us."

His reason of the manner of answering the French Ambassador.

La Crocque was now in England, Ambassador from France; and notwithstanding this base bloody action of France, and the jealousies that the Queen now justly conceived of that King, yet she gave him a soft answer to be returned to his master, being ready to go to his own country. Of which Ambassador's negotiation, and the Queen's answer, thus Secretary Smith spake: " His ne- " gotiation was long in words, to make us believe better " of that King than as yet we can; and replied to [on the

" English side] liberally enough: although to that prince " or country, who have so openly and injuriously done " against Christ, who is truth, sincerity, faith, pity, mercy, " love, and charity, nothing can be too sharply and se- " verely answered; yet princes, you know, are acquainted " with nothing but *douceur*, so must be handled with " *douceur*, especially among and between princes; and " therefore to temperate, as you may perceive: not that " they [should] think the Queen's Majesty and her Coun- " cil such fools, as we know not what is to be done; and " yet that we should not appear so rude and barbarous, as " to provoke where no profit is to any man."

His observation of the prejudice the French did themselves in Scotland.

Upon the preparations that were made in England against the feared attempts of the French, or other Roman Catholics, at this critical time, of the murders committed upon the Protestants in France, the Secretary thus piously spake: " Truth it is, that God disposeth all what- " soever a man does purpose, as Divines speak; and it is " his gift, if wise men do provide for mischief to come; " and yet whatsoever they do devise, the event doth come " of him only, who is the God of hope and fear, beyond " hope and expectation." This he spake in reference to the Scots, who, hearing of this havoc in France, whereas the lords there were in civil wars amongst themselves, fomented by the French, did now begin to come to accord, dreading these doings, and fearing some danger near themselves; for it was the desire of the English to have Scotland in peace and union under the present Protestant King: and now, by a way not thought on, they drew nearer and nearer to an accord, to which the cruelty in France helped not a little; and now continuing, much more would; which he expressed in these words: " The " Scots, our neighbours, be awakened by their beacons in " France." And the Scots, to shew their resentment of these foul doings there, issued out a proclamation to that purpose; which the Secretary sent to Walsingham.

CHAP. XIV.

Secretary Smith at Windsor dispatching business. His care of Flanders and Ireland. Mass-mongers and conjurers sent up to him out of the north. His colony in Ireland.

Anno 1572. Q. Eliz. The Secretary at Windsor;

IN the very beginning of November, Secretary Smith was with the Queen at Windsor, the Lord Treasurer Burghley and most of the Lords of the Council being gone to London, to the solemnization of some great wedding, at which the Secretary also should have been, but he thought it not convenient to go; to be present with the Queen whatsoever chance might happen.

Dispatching agents and Irish matters.

There were now in England, Walwick, an agent from the Earls of East Freezeland, who was very importune for an answer to his master's requests; and another agent from the town of Embden, who came about matters of trade: the consideration of whose business the Queen committed to Aldersay, and some other merchants of London; who had objected against the agents' proposals, and were to give in their reasons. Smith, who was ever for dispatch of business, desired the Lord Burghley to call upon these merchants to hasten and to forward the dismission of both those agents. Irish businesses also lying before the Queen at this time, were taken care of by him; signifying to the said Lord Treasurer, how the Lord Deputy of Ireland wanted comfort and direction in answer to his letters: and he desired the Treasurer to send him the draught of the answer from the Lords to the said Deputy, which he would cause to be written fair, and made ready to be signed against his and the rest of the Lords return to Windsor. He further wrote to the Treasurer, that he should have the Privy Seal sent him for 5200*l.* for corn and money for the use of the Deputy. He mentioned two letters withal to be sent by the same dispatch into Ireland, for three bishoprics void there; to which the Lord Deputy

had recommended certain persons as able and fit men for those places. And taking care of his friend Walsingham, Ambassador in France, he obtained leave from the Queen for his return home: and when among several named to her Majesty to succeed him, she had her thoughts upon Mr. Francis Caroe, as liking him most, he informed the Treasurer of it, and prayed him to send for the said Caroe, and commune with him to put himself in a readiness: whereby, as he said, he should do Mr. Walsingham a great pleasure. These were some of the state matters Smith's hands were full of in the month of November.

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His compassion for Flanders.

Sir Thomas Smith was nettled to see the proud Spaniard domineering in Flanders and Holland, and exercising their cruelties there, and introducing a slavery among that free people; and very apprehensive he was of the growing power of that nation, that so threatened their neighbours, France as well as England: especially seeing withal how tender both realms were to send succours to those parts, to enable them to vindicate their own liberty and safety from those inhuman and insufferable practices there prevailing: in the mean time the French accused the sluggishness of the English, and the English did the like of the French. The Queen had sent some forces to Flushing; but there was a report that she, upon Duke d'Alva's motion, did revoke them: but that was not so; but he was gently answered with a dilatory and doubtful answer: but indeed, more that would have gone from England thither, were stayed. The English, on the other hand, had knowledge that the French did *tergiversari, hang off*, and wrought but timorously, and underhand with open and outward edicts, and made excuses at Rome and Venice by the Ambassadors, importing their not meddling in Flanders, or excusing themselves, if they had done any thing there: on which occasion, Smith, in a letter to the Ambassador in France, gave both Princes a lash; reflecting upon the pretended activity and warlike qualities of the French King, yet that he should thus waver and be afraid to engage; and upon the slowness and

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security of the Queen of England. [a] "You have," saith he, "a King void of leisure, and that loves fatigue, whose "warlike house hath been used to the shedding as well of "their own as of foreign blood: what shall we, a slothful "nation, and accustomed to peace, do; whose supreme "governor is a Queen, and she a great lover of peace and "quietness?"

His advice about the Earl of Desmond.

But to see a little more of his service and counsel in the quality and place he served under the Queen. When in this year 1572, the Earl of Desmond was in England a prisoner, but reconciled unto the Queen, and had promised to do her good service in Ireland, and soon to drive the rebels out of the country, the Queen and Court thought he would prove an honest and faithful subject, and so resolved to dismiss him into his country: and she told Sir Thomas, that she would give him at his departure (the more to oblige him) a piece of silk for his apparel, and a reward in money. Upon which Sir Thomas's judgment was, "that seeing the Queen would tie the Earl to "her service with a benefit, it would be done *amplè, libe-* "*raliter, ac prolixè, non malignè et parcè, i. e.* nobly, li- "berally, and largely; not grudgingly and meanly:" which, as he added, "did so disgrace the benefit, that for love "many times it left a grudge behind in the heart of him "that received it, that marred the whole benefit."

And the quarrel between Clanrichard and Fitton.

A quarrel happened this year between the Earl of Clanrichard and Sir Edward Fitton, governor of Connaught, who was somewhat rigorous in his office; which had caused the rebellion of the Earl's son. The case came before the Deputy and Council in Ireland, and at last to the Queen and her Council in England: our Secretary drew up the Lords of the Council's order about it, to be sent to the Lord Deputy and the Council there, to hear and decide it between them; and withal was sent the Earl's

[a] Regem expertem otii, laboris amantem, cujus gens bellicosa jampridem assueta est cædibus tam exterioris quam vestri sanguinis: quid faciemus gens otiosa et pacis assueta, quibus imperat Regina, et ipsa pacis atque quietis amantissima?

book, and Sir Edward Fitton's answers given into the Council in England. The Earl seemed desirous to have matters sifted to the full trial; and then each party might say and prove the most and worst they could: but Sir Thomas thought it the best way for the Deputy to persuade them both to wrap up (as he expressed it) all things by-past, and to be friends, as they had promised, it seems, to be at a reconciliation formerly made before the Lord Deputy, and to join faithfully for the furtherance of the Queen's Majesty's service, and the quietness and good order of the country hereafter. And it was in his judgment, as he added, "the best way to tread all under "foot, that had gone heretofore, with a perpetual ἀμνηστία, "and to begin a new line without grating upon old sores." Very wise and deliberate counsel! to avoid all ripping up former grievances, which is not the way to heal, so much as to widen the old differences.

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There was this year both massing and conjuring in great measure, in the north especially; and all to create friends to the Scotch Queen, and enemies to Queen Elizabeth: the one to keep the people in the blindness of Popery, and the other to hoodwink them to believe, as it were by prophecy, the speedy approaching death of the Queen. The Earl of Shrewsbury was now Lord President of the Council in the north: he employed two sharp persons to discover these persons and their doings; which they did so effectually, that in the month of February many of these conjurers and mass-mongers were seized, and by the said Lord President's order were brought up by them that seized them to Secretary Smith, good store of their books; which Sir Thomas seeing, called *pretty books, and pamphlets of conjuring*. They brought also to him an account in writing of their travail and pains in this behalf. There was apprehended danger in these practices: for the Papists earnestly longing for the Queen's death had cast figures, and consulted with unlawful arts (which they mixed with their masses) to learn when she should die, and who should succeed; and probably to

Mass-mongers and conjurers sent up to the Secretary.

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cause her death, if they could. This piece of service therefore the Queen and Council took very thankfully at the Earl of Shrewsbury's hands; which, together with the course that was intended to be taken with these criminals, the Secretary signified to him in a letter to this tenor:

His letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury hereupon. Ex Offic. Armorum.

"My very good Lord, the pain that the two to whom "you gave commission, *viz.* Pain and Peg, have taken to "seek out the conjurers and mass-mongers, is very well "accepted of by my Lords of the Council; and they "willed me to give your Lordship, therefore, their most "hearty thanks: the Queen also, not without great con-"tentation of her Highness, hath heard of your careful or-"dering of those matters. The matters be referred, touch-"ing the massing and such disorders, to the Archbishop "of Canterbury, and the rest of the great Commission Ec-"clesiastical: that which shall appear, by examination, to "touch the State and the Prince, to be referred again to "my Lords of the Council, &c." This was dated from Greenwich, February 17, 1572. But it was thought highly needful, that this dangerous nest in the north should be searched more narrowly for, and the birds taken, that they might no more exercise these evil practices, or worse hereafter: the care of which was therefore committed by the Council to the Justices of those parts, out of some secret favour, as it seems, in some of the Privy Counsellors to Papists; for those Justices were known well enough to be generally Popishly affected: therefore it was the judgment of the Secretary, that these Justices would rather cloak than open, excuse than accuse, them who were worthy of accusation; and very doubtful he was, whether they would hinder the discovery of the nest that would be broken; as he broke his mind to the Lord Treasurer, who was of the same judgment, and so also the Lord Chamberlain shewed himself to be, in conference with the Secretary. But the said Treasurer, who was for doing all things with *douceur*, and with as little opposition to others as could be, judged, that for this time the doings of these Justices should be tried; to which opinion the Se-

cretary did shew himself to condescend and agree. There came soon after to his hands more *indicia* of these conjurers which were taken, and withal a foul knot of Papistical Justices of Peace discovered, and of massing Priests, which made him signify his judgment to the Lord Treasurer, that it would be well done, some of them should be sent for out of hand, and laid hold on, if they could be found: and accordingly letters were dispatched into the north for that purpose.

Persuades the Queen to send aid into Scotland.

About this time it was that Sir Thomas was earnest with the Queen, to send aid to reduce the rebels in Scotland, who had fortified Edinburgh castle against the King and Regent; and for that purpose he let the Queen understand from Mr. Killigrew, her Ambassador in Scotland, how dangerously things stood there, and therefore that it was his desire that the *peace-makers* (as he phrased it) might shortly be transported thither: to whom, when the Queen asked, "Who be they?" "Marry," said he, "your "Majesty's cannons; they must do it, and make a final "conclusion." "Then," said the Queen, "I warrant you, "and that shortly." Whereupon Sir Thomas said he was glad, for it was better to prevent than to be prevented. Such was his facetious way sometimes of getting his designs and counsel to the Queen to succeed.

Which, upon his motion, she condescends to.

For it is to be understood that the Queen, for the securing of her affairs with respect to Scotland, had by her interest there procured the Earl of Morton, a Protestant, to be Regent of Scotland: but the Papists and Frenchified party resisted, and took Edinburgh castle; the reducing of which so expeditely, before the French could come in to their assistance, was owing to the managery of the Lord Treasurer and the Secretary. His part was to urge the Queen to send speedy supply thither, and the Lord Treasurer would have men, ammunition, and other necessaries, and a ship immediately ready at Newcastle to go for Scotland, upon the Queen's order: so about the 11th or 12th of February the Secretary moved the Queen for aiding the said Regent to reduce that place into the young

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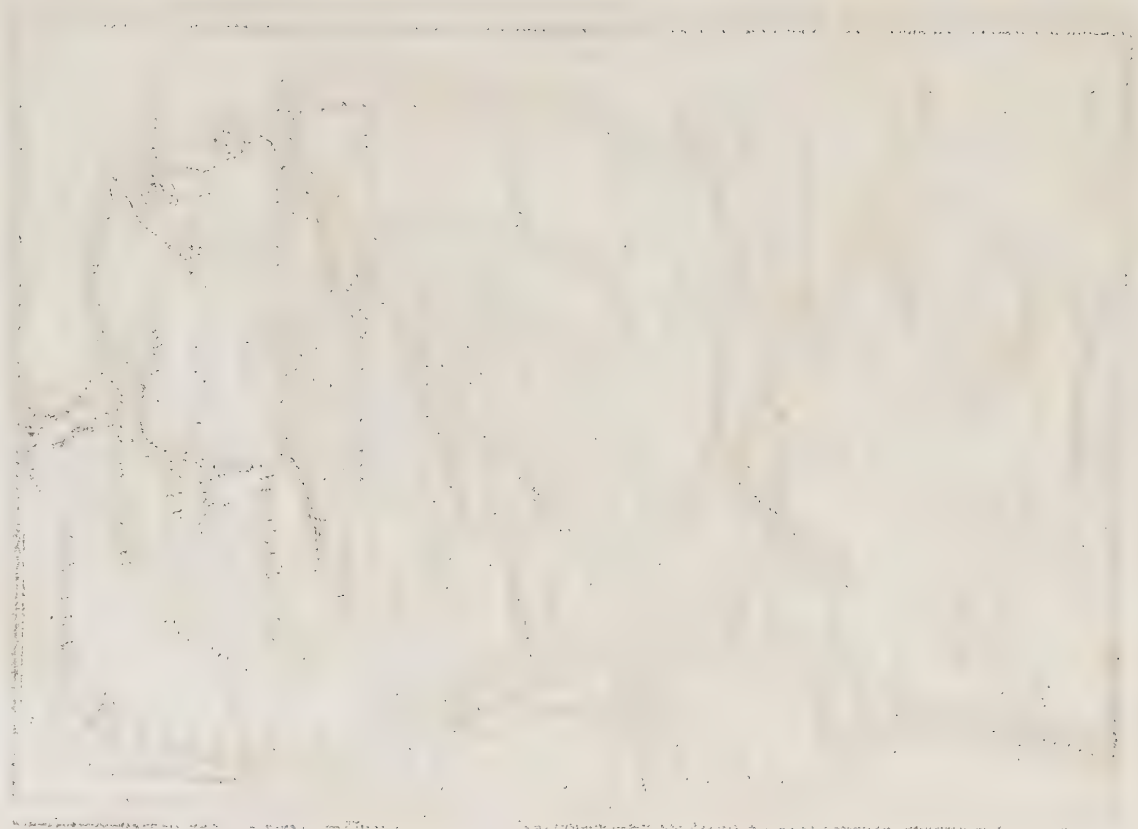
King's hands. But she considered the expense, and told Smith of a device she had to do it without any such charge, that is, by a letter to be written, it seems, to them that held the castle, thinking to bring them to yielding by some good words and promises: but this the Secretary shewed her the inconvenience of, namely, that it would be a protracting of time, being the very thing which they desired, that the French might have time to come to them with their succours: he shewed her moreover, that now, the French King being thoroughly occupied, was the best time to perform that enterprise that was to be done; and in fine, she consented to his opinion; and shewed herself very well pleased with the Lord Treasurer's making provision in this mean while, to have powder, and a ship of Newcastle, and other things necessary provided beforehand for the doing it, as the Secretary had signified to her: and she told him, that upon that Lord's coming to Court, (which then was at Greenwich,) she would fully determine with him all those matters to be set forward with speed.

Two Scotchmen by him examined.

About this time were two Scotchmen, coming from France, stopped at Rye, by the Mayor, and sent up to the Secretary, who examined them. They related what confident report went in France, what the French would do in Scotland, and with what a mighty hand they would bring their desires to pass there in spite of the English, and such like. But this the Secretary saw was but such talk as might appear to be common in France; for that nation, he said, was full of babble and words, and all for magnifying of their doings, and threatening what they would do, rather than what they could do. These men, who called themselves merchants, were searched at Rye, and no letters nor other things suspicious found about them: yet the Secretary advised that Mr. Randal, the Queen's Ambassador in Scotland, or some other who knew Scotch manners and matters better, should somewhat consider of them; and if there were no matters against them, to dismiss them, in his mind, were best.



North
Life P. 131
The Band
CLANEY
BOY
Toome
E. Moubray
Vlder Fleet
Haven
Knockfergus
Knockfergus Bay
Massenne
Belfast
KIL
Bangar
THE
New tonn
AR
DES
East
West
LOUGH
EAUGH
VL
TO
KIL
WAR
DUFREN
NEY
Savaige
Strangford
Haven
Donne
MACCAR
Mr. Maltby
TEN
LECALE
Mr. Maltby
Arglas
Dendrom
MAGEN
South

CHAP. XIV.

Anno 1572. Q. Eliz.

Sir Thomas sends a colony into Ardes.

This year Sir Thomas procured a colony to be sent into a land of his in Ireland, called the Ardes: it was a rich and pleasant country, on the eastern coast of Ulster, and of considerable extent, lying well for trade by sea; bordering upon a country where Sarleboy contained himself with his party. He was an Hebridian Scot, (the Hebrides bordering upon this province,) a long time detained prisoner by Shan O'Neal, the chief prince in Ulster. This country was called Clandeboy where these Scots lived; but they were beaten out once by this Shan, who called himself Earl of Tir Oen, and had killed two of the brethren of Mac Conel: of which family was Sarleboy, whom he then had taken prisoner; but afterwards in an extremity gave him his liberty. This Shan was afterwards in a revenge slain by Sarleboy and his party. A prospect of these parts this map will give.

His patent for it.

Sir Thomas in the year 1571 had procured a patent from her Majesty for these Ardes[b]: the substance whereof

[b] For these Ardes Sir Thomas Smith obtained two instruments from the Queen: the one was an indenture between the Queen and him; the other was the patent.

The indenture between the Queen and Sir Thomas, to whom was Thomas his son joined, and called one of her pensioners within her kingdom of Ireland, witnessed, that whereas there were in her Highness's earldom of Ulster divers parts and parcels that lay waste, or else were inhabited with a wicked, barbarous, and uncivil people, some Scottish, and some wild Irish, and such as lately had been rebellious to her, and commonly were out of all good order, and as it were in continual rebellion, her Majesty considered how great a benefit it would be to her realm of Ireland, and what honour and commodity to herself, her heirs, &c. to have the same peopled with good and obedient subjects, who should acknowledge the great benefits of God, her Highness's royal authority, and be a force at all times to aid her Majesty's deputy, or other officer, to repress all rebels and seditious people, and be an occasion, by their example, to bring the rude and barbarous nation of the wild Irish to more civility of manners; and had therefore often desired and wished that some occasion to this purpose might be offered. Whereupon Sir Thomas Smith and his son, being willing to employ themselves in her Highness's service, and moved with a fervent zeal to bring so good and goodly an enterprise to pass, made humble suit to her Majesty, that it would please her Highness to accept their offer of themselves, and were contented to covenant, promise, and conclude, and by those presents did covenant, promise, and conclude, to and with their said Sovereign and her successors, &c. And then the terms follow:

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was, that Sir Thomas was to be Lieutenant General there for war, and for the distribution of lands, orders, and laws, in the matters thereunto pertaining: in a word, to obtain

I. That they, their friends, followers, and adherents, upon their own cost and charges, with the travail of their bodies and perils of their lives, should enter into the said earldom of Ulster with a power of English, to subdue and repress all rebels, which then or afterwards should be in the great and little Ardes, Claneboy, which lay south, the castle called Belfast, also in the Abbey or Priory called Massarine, the castles called Castle Moubray, and Castle Tome; and to repress all rebels in the other country continently adjoining to them, so much as should amount unto twelve hundred plow-lands, besides woods, bogs, and wastes.

II. From time to time to do their endeavour to subdue, expel, and bring to her Majesty's mercy, all rebels within those countries and limits.

III. To plant and settle in all those places, true and faithful subjects, so soon as time would conveniently suffer them.

IV. That all such as should be partakers in this good and godly enterprise, either on foot or horseback, on their own charges, or aid Sir Thomas with men or money, should be recompensed: that is,

V. To divide the said lands unto such as should hazard themselves, or aid him with men and monies, giving to every one, and his heirs, that should at his own charge serve on foot, or find a footman, one plow-land. To every one serving on horseback, or finding an horseman, two plow-lands; to hold to him and his heirs of the said Sir Thomas and his son, and their heirs, by the fiftieth part of a knight's fee, and by such rents and other duties as the taker shall be contented to accept the same: every plow-land to contain six score acres of arable land, and every acre to contain four poles in breadth, and forty in length; every pole to contain twenty-four foot of the English standard in length.

VI. That from the 28th of March, which shall be 1579, Sir Thomas and his son to have in a readiness within the said countries and lands, to serve in defence of the same at the inhabitants' cost and charges, for every such plow-land one sufficient able English footman soldier, well armed: for every two such plow-lands one sufficient able light horse.

VII. At every general hosting, upon fifteen days warning they shall be ready to attend upon the Deputy of Ireland, with sufficient leaders and captains, in any part of the earldom of Ulster, during the space of forty days, at their own cost and charges.

VIII. Not to sell to any mere Irish, or any Scottish person, any estate of freehold, or any longer or greater estate than for five years, in any castle, manor, lordship, &c.

IX. Nor to marry to or with any mere Irish, or Scottish-Irish persons, without licence or assent from the Sovereign.

Upon these conditions the Queen granted to the said Sir Thomas and his son, the said Ardes, yielding and paying to her for every plow-land twenty shillings yearly, to be paid into her Exchequer in Ireland. The first payment

and govern the country to be won, following instructions and orders to him to be directed from the Queen and her Council; and this for the first seven years: afterward the government of the country to return to such officers as the customs and laws of England did appoint, except the Queen should think him worthy to be appointed the governor thereof, as being a frontier country: the right to remain only in him, as to the inheritance, the authority to muster and call together his soldiers throughout the same country, and to dispose of them upon the frontiers, as he should see cause for the better defence of the country.

Anno 1572. Q. Eliz.

In this patent his base and only son Thomas Smith was joined with him; and under his conduct Sir Thomas this year sent thither the colony beforesaid: having this good design therein, that those half barbarous people might be taught some civility. And his hope was, that the place might easily be defended by garrisons placed in a strait neck of land, by which it was joined to the rest of the island: and there was a reward of land to every footman and horseman. But this extensive project took not its desired effect; for the hopeful gentleman, his son, had not been long there, but he was unhappily and treacherously slain. It was pity it had no better issue; for Sir Thomas a great while had set his thoughts upon it, undertaking to people that north part of the island with natives of this nation.

Sir Thomas's son leads the colony.

But for his more regular and convenient doing of it, and to be at Michaelmas 1576. And to grant out her letters patents to grant commission to Thomas Smith to invade the said country with army power and men, being entertained by himself without disturbance or let of any of her Majesty's officers. The same commission to continue and endure in force for the space of seven years. This was dated 5th of October, the 13th of the Queen.

His rules and orders for it.

Anno 1570.

The patent being fairly writ in parchment, with the Broad Seal appendent, was to Sir Thomas and his son; referring to the articles and agreements of the indenture, that she had given and granted all the said lands, lordships, castles, &c. and of her special grace, freeing them of all manner of exactions, called coyne livery, cesse, and all other then used or before. This bore date November 16, the 13th of the Queen.

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Anno 1572. Q. Eliz.

continuance thereof, he invented divers rules and orders. The orders were of two kinds. 1. For the management of the wars against the rebels, and the preserving the colony continually from the danger of them. 2. For the civil government: to preserve their home manners, laws, and customs; that they degenerated not into the rudeness and barbarity of that country. He divided his discourse into three parts. First, to speak of wars; and therein of military officers to be used there. Secondly, concerning laws for the politic government of the country to be possessed, for the preservation of it. Thirdly, in what orders to proceed in this journey from the beginning to the end; which Sir Thomas called "a noble enterprise," and "a godly "voyage."

Mr. Smith's care in the colony.

His son being now with his colony upon the place, proceeded commendably in order to the reduction of it. He was in a good forwardness of reducing Sarleboy to obedience; for they had much converse together, and came at length to articles of agreement: the main of which was, that he should be made a denizen of England by the Queen, and hold his land of her and him; and the same privilege should the rest of his Scots enjoy; paying to the Queen a yearly rent in acknowledgment, and he to become homager to her by oath, and so to be a faithful subject, or else lose his right. Mr. Smith also began a new fort in this country. He laboured also to unite the English and Scots that were there, who did not, it seems, very well agree; that their strength being united, they might be the more able to withstand the wild Irish. And this the Scots were for promoting, as considering that if the English and they should strive together, when the one had weakened the other, the wild Irish, like the puthawk, (it was Sir Thomas's own similitude,) might drive them out, or carry away both.

Draws up instructions for his son.

Besides the pains Sir Thomas had already taken for the settlement of the Ardes, he drew up this year instructions to be sent from the Queen to his son, containing directions upon what terms Sarleboy and his fellows should hold their

lands of her Majesty and him. Likewise he drew up a draught for explaining certain words doubtful in the indentures between the Queen and him and his son; as, about his son's soldiers, if they should marry in that country, as it was likely they would. The Secretary entreated the Lord Treasurer to steal a little leisure to look these writings over, and correct them; so that he might make them ready for the Queen's signing. And this he hoped, when once dispatched, might be as good to his son as five hundred Irish soldiers.

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At Mr. Smith's first coming hither he found some few that claimed themselves descended of English blood, namely, the family of the Smiths, and the Savages, and two surnames more: and these presently joined with the English, and combined with them against the wild Irish; but all the rest were mere Irish or Irish Scots, and natural haters of the English.

Families of English found in the Ardes.

The Queen had a force of men in those parts for necessary defence, and for the keeping of Knockfergus, a very important place for curbing the Irish. But to retrench her charge in Ireland, she was minded now to discharge them, as she had done some already, expecting that Smith should secure those quarters; nor would she grant any foot or horse to him. Sir Thomas therefore, in February, interceded with her by the means of the Lord Treasurer, that at least for that year she would suffer those bands to be there, to countenance and support the new begun aid and fort, and not to leave it so naked as it had been, it seems, all that winter, by cassing those bands that were heretofore the defence of Knockfergus, and the bar of the north. And he told the Lord Treasurer upon this occasion, that it was certain, if his son had not retrieved a band of the Lord of Harvey's at his own charge, Knockfergus had been in great danger, or else clean lost.

Mr. Smith's good service this winter.

But while these matters thus fairly and hopefully went on, Mr. Smith was intercepted and slain by a wild Irishman. Yet Sir Thomas did not wholly desist, but carried on the colony, and procured more force to pass over there;

Mr. Smith slain.

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for in March, *anno exeunte*, (his son being but newly, if yet, dead,) there were Harrington, Clark, and some others, adventurers on this design, that gave certain sums of money for lands there to be assured to them. In the beginning of March 1572, the ships, captains, and soldiers were ready to be wafted over; when unhappily some persons concerned had started some new matter in regard of the bargain, which put a stop to their departure; and one Edward Higgins, the chief of the gentlemen and captains that were going over, and forward in this generous expedition, was hindered for want of the money agreed upon. Hence it came to pass, that the captains lay at great charges, when their ships, mariners, and soldiers were ready, and they did nothing but dispend their money. This troubled Sir Thomas not a little; as appears by a letter he wrote to one Mrs. Penne, a gentlewoman that had an influence upon some of these persons that made the stop. To whom therefore Sir Thomas applied himself, praying her to call upon them, to consider at what charge the captains did lie, and to do what she could in any wise to help them away; whereby she should do the Queen's Majesty good service, and him and them great pleasure: "it being "a matter," said he, "which indeed for the goodness of "it I take much to heart." This was writ from Greenwich, the 6th of March.

The Ardes neglected upon Sir Thomas's death.

This care the Secretary continued: for a year or two after, I find him drawing out other passports and licences for transportation of victuals for certain that went to the Ardes, and expressing himself then to a friend, that it stood him upon both in profit and honesty not to let the present month pass, which was May, anno 1574. And so during his life Sir Thomas laboured in the civilizing and settlement of this his colony: but upon his death it seems to have lain neglected for some time. And though the family and heirs of Sir Thomas, who are extant to this day, have often claimed their interest in this land, which their ancestor did so dearly purchase and well deserve, yet they enjoy not a foot of it at this present.

For, as I have been informed by some of that worshipful family, Sir William Smith, nephew and heir to our Sir Thomas Smith, was merely tricked out of it by the knavery of a Scot, one Hamilton[c], (who was once a schoolmaster, though afterwards made a person of honour,) with whom the said Sir William was acquainted. Upon the first coming in of King James I. he, minded to get these lands confirmed to him by that King, which had cost Sir Thomas (besides the death of his only son) 10,000*l.* being to go into Spain with the English Ambassador, left this Hamilton to solicit this his cause at Court, and get it dispatched. But Sir William being gone, Hamilton discovered the matter to some other of the Scotch nobility: and he and some of them begged it of the King for themselves, pretending to his Majesty that it was too much for any one subject to enjoy. And this Hamilton did craftily, thinking, that if he should have begged it all for himself, he might perhaps have failed of success, being so great a thing; but that he might well enjoy a part, especially with the concurrence and interest of some of the powerful men about the King, when they begged for themselves. And never after could Sir William Smith, nor any of his posterity, recover it: for the premises had been so long possessed by others, that neither Sir Thomas Smith, who had suffered much for his unshaken loyalty to King Charles I. had success in his petition preferred to King Charles II. upon his return; nor yet Sir Edward Smith, still surviving, in his, upon the late revolution. He that is minded to know more at large how this case stood, may in the Ap- Num. IV.

Anno 1572. Q. Eliz. How lost from the family.

[c] This Hamilton was a man of quality in his own country, and is styled by the name of a schoolmaster, because he taught philosophy in Ireland in disguise, having been sent by James King of Scots, to lie perdue there for him during the Queen's life; and was the first fellow of the College of Dublin, as is mentioned in Bishop Usher's Life. He was knighted afterwards by King James, and styled Sir James Hamilton.

This estate of the Ardes was divided among five of the descendants of the Clanbrazil family: the heiress of one of which, Sir Robert Hamilton, now living, married. Two of the others, namely, Hamilton of Bangor, and of Tullimore, are gentlemen of repute and worth in Ireland.

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Anno 1572. Q. Eliz.

pendix find the petition of the foresaid Sir Thomas Smith exemplified, as it was humanely communicated to me by his son, together with the King's order thereupon[d].

[d] In January 1573, Sir Francis Walsingham was made Secretary, jointly with Sir Thomas Smith.

CHAP. XV.

The Secretary oppressed with business. His discourse with the Queen about Ireland and the Earl of Essex. His act in the behalf of colleges of learning. His sickness and death.

THE Secretary could not want for care and toil in these busy and most dangerous days, wherein the nation was exposed to the malice and envy of the Pope and the mighty Kings of Spain and France, the one more covertly, the other more professedly, but both fatal enemies to the Queen and the religion established; the Irish backed in their rebellion by a foreign power; and at home a great many mal-contents. To trace him a little in his pains and diligence. To them he devoted himself even to quite tiring, after he had been a year or two exercised therein: for when once, in the year 1574, he had a few play-days, and was ready to go home to his house in Essex, he told his friends that "he was thoroughly weary, *tam animo* "*quam corpore*, and could scarce endure any longer." And that which increased his weariness, was the Queen's wariness; for she did not use to be hasty in dispatch of matters, which was Smith's great desire should not hang in hand. This he would call among his intimate friends the Queen's *irresolution;* and in some heat (as he was somewhat hasty and quick in his temper) complained at this time to the Lord Treasurer, "that it was sometimes "So, and sometimes No; and in all times uncertain, and "ready to stays and revocation." And sometimes she would not be spoken with upon business, and access to the Queen was clean shut up: which made him, between jest and earnest, say, "that he thought her Majesty sup- "posed that he would chide, as he dared. But indeed," he said, "that he could not but lament, and complain of this "her irresolution, which did weary and kill her ministers, "destroy her actions, and overthrew all good designs and

Anno 1574. Q. Eliz. The Secretary uneasy.

CHAP. XV.

Anno 1574. Q. Eliz.

"counsels." And again, in this discontent, he cried out, "I wait while I have neither eyes to see, nor legs to stand "upon; and yet these delays grieve me more, and will "not let me sleep in the night."

At the Queen's delays.

The occasion of this present distaste of Smith was, that the Queen had commanded the Earl of Leicester and Sir Christopher Hatton, her chief favourites, to forbear moving suits to her; and when the Secretary went to her with private suits, he could get neither yea nor nay. And if these two aforesaid persons were forbidden to move suits, "then," said he, "had we need within a while to have a "horse or an ass to carry bills after us, increasing daily, "and never dispatched," as he angerly and wittily spake to one of his friends. Of these practices of the Queen he would say, "These resolutions and revocations of resolu- "tions will be the undoing of any good action."

The Queen deliberates about supplies for the Earl of Essex.

Matters in Ireland being in an ill condition, the Lord Treasurer and the Secretary dealt earnestly with the Queen to supply the Earl of Essex (an honest gentleman, and an excellent commander in Ulster) with men and money; those northern parts of Ireland being now in great disturbance; and Essex, forced by reason of secret enemies in the Court, to lie still and do but little to the purpose, for want of both. The Queen resolved, and revoked her resolutions again. This created the Secretary a great deal of vexation: for she would say, she would consult with the Lord Treasurer when he came to Court; though she had done it, and had his opinion in that behalf before. The Earl of Leicester privately hindered all, having no love for Essex.

TheQueen's backwardness thereunto troubles the Secretary.

Thus the Earl of Essex's plat stuck with the Queen. But about ten or twelve days passing in March, the Secretary comforted himself by the persuasion that she was come to a full resolution to go forward with it, without any going back; and that she would send for him, and signify the same to him. And had it indeed been so, to use the Secretary's expression, the realm and she had passed a great and troublesome ague, and especially the

Lord Treasurer and himself, and such others as they, who had doings in that matter. But the Queen took respite again, until she heard again from the Lord Treasurer: whereat the Secretary was so bold as to tell her, that she knew his Lordship's mind full many times told her before. And this he signified unto that Lord, and in conclusion told him, "that coming unsent for to have resolution, he "was sent back again without resolution: he prayed God "to send it that night or to-morrow:" and added, "that it "was high time to resolve one way or other; which done, "he would be bold to take a little rest, and make some "start home into Essex, being thoroughly weary, he said, "*tam animo quam corpore*, and could scarcely endure any "longer."

Anno 1574. Q. Eliz.

But at last, in the month of March 1575, (*anno inci-piente*,) Sir Thomas and the Lord Burghley got the Earl of Essex's business to come to a resolution: which was, to send a good supply, with a plat how he was to manage himself. The Queen had first entered into a discourse one night with her Secretary about Ireland, and declared her dislike of the enterprise of Ulster, for default of them who should execute it; asking him what men of counsel or wisdom there were, into whose hands might be committed so great a mass of money, and so great a charge as should be sent. The Secretary answered her Majesty, that the counsel, what and how to do herein, was already taken; and that a plat was laid down by my Lord of Essex, and allowed of by the Lord Deputy and Council there, and liked of by the Lords of her Council here; as she herself had heard of the Lords, and all their reasons: so that, said he, whereas it is said, *priusquam incipias, consulto*, that had been maturely and deliberately done; and to which, as he subjoined, her Highness, by letters to the Lord Deputy and the Earl of Essex, had given her consent. And now there rested nothing but, *ubi consulueris maturè opus est facto*, to which her Majesty had set a good beginning, giving a warrant for the half year's charges. "Now," said Sir Thomas, "counsels be commonly

Anno 1575. Conference between the Queen and her Secretary about Ulster.

CHAP. XV.

Anno 1575. Q. Eliz. And the Earl of Essex.

"of old men, grave men, and full of experience, and at "home; the execution is to be done by young men, cap- "tains, and soldiers, abroad. And," said he, "my Lord "of Essex hath shewed great wisdom, courage, and bold- "ness hitherto, and brought it to a very good pass for a "beginning; and now, having more experience, and Malby "and other captains with him of courage, it was to be hoped "that he should bring it to a good end." "Yea," said the Queen, "but who hath he with him but Malby? Shall I "trust so great a matter to him, and such a mass of mo- "ney? Who shall have the charge of it, and the laying out "of it?" "Madam," answered the Secretary, "the money "is to be committed to the Treasurer there; and, upon his "accounts, to be employed upon the captains and soldiers "for their wages and victuals, and upon fortifications. If "he do keep his plat, then he followeth that which the "wisest heads of the Counsellors in England think fit and "best to be done: otherwise he deceiveth them, and your "Highness, and most of all himself; which it is not likely "that he should, and I trust he will not do." But the Queen still harped upon that string, that there was lacking able Ministers; and shewed herself, notwithstanding, at this discourse desirous to consult with the Treasurer.

His advice to the Queen concerning him.

But though the commission and order for the Earl of Essex was by her signed at last, still she was doubtful of the success of her Irish affairs, thus committed to that nobleman, some about her, enemies to him, lessening his worth to the Queen. Whereupon the Secretary entreated the Treasurer, whose opinion she greatly valued in matters of state, that he would persuade her to think no more of it till Michaelmas, that is, till half a year were past: and by that time he trusted she should see such good success, that she should be glad; and sorry only that it was not set upon before. Thus earnestly did Sir Thomas solicit his royal mistress for the good of Ireland, and laboured to release and satisfy her mind, anxious about her successes, and loath to part with her money, without fair probability of succeeding. And perhaps he was the more earnest herein,

the safety and good estate of his lands in the Ardes depending upon this expedition of that noble Lord.

Anno 1575. Q. Eliz.

The Secretary with the Queen in progress.

The Secretary was this year with the Queen in her progress: and in the month of August he was with her at Charteley; whence she went to Stafford Castle; and thence to one Mr. Gifford's, the Secretary attending her: this being some part of her progress.

The Queen speaks to the Secretary about dangerous beggars.

It was now lately grown a common practice to ride with dags or pistols; whereby it came to pass, that thieves wearing weapons did more boldly rob true men travelling upon their occasions. And there were now also common routs of roguing beggars by the highway side, naming themselves soldiers of Ireland lately disbanded. Of both these, the Queen, December 4, willed the Lords to write unto the Lord Treasurer for the redress of them: and she shewed the Secretary that some of them had said they were in company 1500, which were fain now to go a begging. The Secretary, by a private letter, let the Lord Treasurer understand this; and added, that it was honourable, and almost necessary, that some good order were taken for these two disorders. And for the remedy hereof, Sir Thomas drew out a proclamation, shewing how great and heinous robberies and murders had been committed, both in the highways and other places, in divers parts of the realm, by such as did carry about with them dags or pistols, contrary to the good and wholesome statutes of the realm. That the Queen therefore, of a great zeal and care that she had to the safety and preservation of her subjects, and to the good government of the realm in all peace and surety; calling to mind how unseemly a thing it was, in so quiet and peaceable a realm, to have men go armed with such offensive weapons, as though it were in time of hostility, and how prohibited by her noble progenitors; did charge and command all her subjects, of what estate or degree soever they were, that in no wise in their journeying, going, or riding, they carried about them, privily or openly, any dag or pistol, or any other harquebuse, gun, or such weapon for fire, under the lengths ex-

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pressed by the statute made by the Queen's most noble father, upon pain of imprisonment, or other punishment. And the Justices, Mayors, Bailiffs, and Constables, were to arrest such as should come to any town with such weapons. And all keepers of inns, taverns, &c. should have care and regard, that no man should bring into their houses any such prohibited weapons; and if they did, to seize upon the same, and to bring the persons to the Constable to be arrested. But because for the multitude of those evil disposed persons, which carried about them such weapons for mischievous and unlawful intents, some of her good subjects had been compelled, for their own defence, and to avoid the danger of such thieves, to provide them dags and pistols, and carry them openly; she was contented, for a certain time specified, that all noblemen, and such known gentlemen which were without spot or doubt of evil behaviour, if they carried dags or pistolets about them in their journies openly at their saddle bows, and in no other close manner; and such of their servants as rid in their company.

He procures an act for schools of learning.

[a] Sir Thomas Smith, in a parliament this eighteenth year of the Queen, procured an act to pass for the Universities, and the two colleges of Eton and Winchester; (for which his memory will be always dear to scholars;) which was, that a third part of the rent upon leases made by colleges should be reserved in corn, paying after the rate of six shillings and eight pence the quarter, or under, for good wheat, and five shillings a quarter, or under, for good malt. This corn the tenants were yearly to deliver to the colleges, either in kind or in money, as the colleges pleased, after the rate of the best wheat and malt in the markets of Cambridge and Oxford, at the day prefixed for the pay-

[a] The act for the colleges to receive part of their rent in corn is attributed by Dr. Willet to Cecil Lord Burghley, Chancellor of Cambridge; and to have been devised and procured by his prudent and provident care. I do suppose both Sir Thomas and he were concerned in it; that is, in the contriving and concerting it between themselves, and Sir Thomas in bringing in the bill, transacting and furthering it in the House of Commons.

Catal. of Charitable Works, p. 1220.

ment thereof. Fuller, in his History of Cambridge, maketh this remark here, "That Sir Thomas Smith was said by "some to have surprised the house herein: where many "could not conceive how this would be at all profitable to "the colleges; but still the same on the point, whether "they had it in money or wares. But the Knight took the "advantage of the present cheapness; knowing hereafter "grain would grow dearer, mankind daily multiplying, and "licence being lately given for transportation. So that at "this day much emolument redoundeth to the colleges in "each University, by the passing of this act; and though "their rents stand still, their revenues do increase."

Anno 1575. Q. Eliz. Hist. of Cambr. p. 144.

The act ran, "For the better maintenance of learning, "and the better relief of scholars, that no Master, Pro- "vost, President, Warden, Dean, Governor, Rector, or "chief ruler of any college, hall, or house of learning, "after the end of that sessions of Parliament, should make "any lease for life or years, of any of their lands, tene- "ments, or other hereditaments, to which any tithe, ara- "ble lands, meadow, or pasture, did appertain; except "that one third part, at the least, of the old rent were "reserved and paid in corn, that is to say, in good wheat "after six shillings and eight pence the quarter, or under; "and good malt after five shillings the quarter, or under; "to be delivered yearly, upon days perfixed at the said "colleges, &c. And for default thereof, to pay the said "colleges in ready money, at the election of the said "leasees, after the rate as the best wheat and malt in the "market of Cambridge, and in the market of Oxford, and "of Winchester and Windsor, for the rents that were to "be paid to the use of the houses there, were, or should be "sold the next market-day before the said rent should be "due, without fraud or deceit. And that all leases, other- "wise hereafter to be made, and all collateral bonds and "assurances to the contrary, by any of the said corpora- "tions, should be void in law to all intents and purposes. "And the same wheat, malt, or money, coming of the same, "to be expended to the use of the relief of the commons and

The act.

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Anno 1575. Q. Eliz.

"diet of the said colleges: and by no fraud or colour, let "or sold away from the profit of the said colleges, and the "fellows and scholars of the same, and the use aforesaid, "upon pain of deprivation to the governors or chief rulers "of the said colleges, and all others thereto consenting." And this was no more than Sir Thomas himself had practised long before, when he was Provost of Eton, whensoever he made or renewed the leases of that college: the benefit of which he had well experienced by the rising of the prices of corn even in his remembrance. For this eternal benefit to the houses of learning, he deserved an eternal monument; and so a member of one of them, in a poetical flight, wrote:

O! statua dignum inventum, Phrygiaque columna.

Anno 1576. Sir Thomas's fatal distemper seizes him.

About the year 1576 Sir Thomas Smith began to be afflicted with that sickness that the next year ended his life: overpressed with continual watchings, and the public cares of the Queen and state. As it is a thing that is wont to create a true friendship, I mean the proportion and likeness of tempers; so it is not without remark, that Sir Thomas, and the Lord Treasurer Burghley, their distempers were the same. And, which was more remarkable still, they used to seize upon these two persons at the same time. Their distemper was a rheum. "The rheum," as he wrote to the same Lord, "which is my natural "enemy, is commonly wont to assault me most when "your Lordship is also grievously troubled with yours." For, April 22, 1576, at which time the Lord Burghley was very ill of his distemper, Sir Thomas wrote him a letter, that he was then seized with his: and, which was an ill sign, whereas before it used to take him either in his jaw, or teeth, or in the lower body with looseness, and all over with sweat; now it fastened itself in his throat and tongue, and would not by any art be removed. So that he was almost out of hope of any amendment; but clearly without hope of any speedy help; though he never took so much advice, as he wrote, nor used so many physicians,

nor observed so much their rules, which he styled their *preciseness*. "But when all is done," added he piously, "that man may or ought to do, the sequel and event of "health, and the end of life, is in God's will and plea- "sure: that which he shall appoint is best to me. Surely "all is one, being as willing now to die as to live, and I "trust (with God's mercy and hope therein) as ready. "For it grieveth me to live unserviceable to my Prince, "and unprofitable to my country, heavy and unpleasant "to myself: for what pleasure can a man have of my "years, when he cannot speak as he would?" [for his chief grief was in eating, and drinking, and speaking; and in the last especially:] "while his legs," he said, "his "hands, his memory, and his wit, served as much as need "be desired."

It affected chiefly his tongue and throat.

It was indeed a great grief to him that it so affected his tongue: and he avowed, "that if it were at his own "choice, he had rather his disease had taken hold of any "other part of his body; so that that piece only," as he called it, "which is contained in an handful space, were at "quiet;" which yet was without pain or grief, but when he eat, or drank, or spake; the continual defluxion and falling down of tough phlegm, still vexing it, and interrupting the most necessary uses of the throat.

The orator now scarce can speak.

This envious disease stopped that eloquent tongue of his; and that sweet and streaming rhetoric, which was wont to flow to the delight and admiration of all, received now a fatal check, and Sir Thomas must play the orator no more; no, nor scarce utter a single word: for to that extremity he was brought at last; which the poet that wrote the Muse's Tears for him thus expresses:

Nescio quis subito morbus sic occupat artus,
Ut quæ olim mellita diu jam verba solebat
Fundere, vix aliquam possit transmittere vocem;
Gutturis ast imis latitans radicibus intus
Hæreret, nullumque sonum lingua ederet illo
Quo solita est splendore, decus laudemque merente.

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Anno 1576. Q. Eliz.

To divert his sickness, he looks over his former writings.

His book of Roman coins.

He foresaw that he was like to continue a long while in this condition; and be so disabled from his common function, and to attend the Queen's business. But he could not be idle, which he said was contrary to his nature: he was therefore minded to follow his study, and take a review of what he had formerly done. And in this *loathful leisure*, as he called it, among other occupations and pastimes, he would remember the days of his youth, and look back again to his doings then; and now being old, *quasi repuerascere*, i. e. hereby, "as it were to grow a child again." When he was Secretary in King Edward's days, he wrote a book of the value of the Roman coins to our English standard, upon a question Cecil, his fellow Secretary, had moved to him, *viz.* what was the ordinary wages of a soldier at Rome. This book, as many others which he wrote in his youth, he had now lost. Two of these he had sent, he remembered, one to Sir Robert Dudley, now Earl of Leicester, and the other to Sir William Cecil, now Lord Treasurer. Now he had lately desired Mr. Wolley to search in the said Earl's study for it, but it could not be found. He desired therefore the Lord Treasurer to see for it, who he thought had not laid it up so negligently. And especially he desired the tables, which were exactly and plainly set forth: for, searching among his old papers, he could find the first draught of the said book, and the *Adversaria;* whereby he was able to fill up all the chapters in manner as they were at the first: but the tables, or any draughts of them, he could not find. And he doubted that neither his leisure, nor wit, nor memory of old books, and the places of them, which were formerly more ready and fresh to him than they were at present, would serve him to make the instructions again: wherefore he prayed that Lord to look out the book, but especially the tables. This he wrote from his house at Chanonrow, April 22d. This book, as it seems, the Lord Treasurer found out among his papers, and sent it to the Secretary, according to his request; which he had desired to see, as he said to the said Lord, *tanquam filium*

postliminio redeuntem, perditum quasi, et iterum inventum. CHAP. XV.

This book is mentioned, and no more but mentioned, in the History of Queen Elizabeth, by Mr. Camden; only that he calls it an exact commentary, and worth the publishing. After I had made great inquiry after it without success, at length I fortunately met with Sir Thomas's own rude draught of it, in several tables of his own hand, shewn and communicated to me by the obliging favour and kindness of Sir Edward Smith: a true extract whereof I have made, and presented to the readers in the Appendix. Num. V. Anno 1576. Q. Eliz.

April 25th, the Lord Burghley sent a gentleman to Sir Thomas, to visit him in this his valetudinary state; which he took kindly, and gave him an account of his sickness, and of his progress in physic, which was to this tenor: that he had put himself into the physicians' hands, and they, according to their method, first fell to purging him, to free his body from peccant humours, as a preparatory to other physic; a practice which he did not like of, because it would make a great disturbance of the whole body, and affect the parts that were well, and in a good state. And so indeed it happened to him; for this physic put his whole body, and all the parts of it, into a commotion and indisposition, when it was perfectly well before, as appeared by his urine, and by his own feeling and apprehension of himself. But after he had taken this preparatory physic, there was no part of his body which was not brought out of frame; his urine so troubled, so high coloured, and so confused; which did bespeak a seditious rout of humours raised in his body, as he spake. This being a little settled, they gave him a pill, which was as insuccessful as the other; for it gave him scarcely a stool, and that with abundance of rack and torment, and left such an unpleasant and bitter relish in the stomach, that he was forced to vomit it up again. The next course that was taken with him, was shaving his head, and wearing a cap, which one Dr. Langton was the chief prescriber of, accounted of excellent use for those that were troubled with great rheums, The Physicians tamper with him.

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and was himself present when it was laid on; the effect whereof was to be seen after eight or ten days. Sir Thomas was very unsatisfied with his physicians, who for two or three months had been thus tampering with his body, and with no manner of success; whereas he was for a speedier work, and declared himself of the smith's mind, his namesake in Plato, who willed the physician to give him a thing that would speedily rid him of his disease, that he might again sustain his wife and family with his labour, or else be rid quickly; for he had no leisure to attend the long prorogation of thin diet and protracting physic. "That mind," said he, "which the smith had of "necessity, I have of will and desire, and ever had; not "to live, being unserviceable to my Prince and the com-"monwealth."

His physicians leave him to kitchen physic.

In the beginning of May, his physic having greatly weakened his body, and all his good humours dried therewith, and his sickness so obstinate that it little cared for medicine, all his physicians with one accord agreed, advising him to forbear all further medicaments, and to apply himself to kitchen physic; giving him leave to eat and drink what he would, and what his appetite desired. And so he resolved to retire home to his house called Mounthaut in Essex, a manor house of his, where now stands Hill-hall, the present dwelling of Sir Edward Smith, Baronet, before mentioned. And here he trusted to leave his sickness, or his life. "Whether pleaseth God," said he, "that is best: but if it were in my choice, I would "leave them both at once; yet must I keep life so long "as I can, and not leave the station wherein God hath set "me, by my default, and without his calling. And so "mind I to do; trusting very shortly to have some plain "signification from His Majesty, to whither haven I shall "apply my ship, of death or health. Blessed be his holy "will[b]."

Goes into the country.

[b] While he was now at his country house, the use of his tongue was clean taken away, that he could not be understood; and had a continual rheum distilling down from his head. In July he intended to go to the baths in So-

God gave not our Knight his desire, that is, a speedy death or speedy recovery: for he continued in a decaying, consumptive, wasting condition all this year, and onward the next till August, putting a conclusion to his generous and most useful life, at his beloved retirement of Mounthal, or Mounthaut, (as he delighted to call it,) on the 12th day of the said month, in the year 1577, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, in an easy and quiet departure. And he never was afraid of death[c].

Anno 1577. Q. Eliz. Dies.

He was attended to his grave with a decency and splendour becoming the high place and figure he had made. There assisted in mourning at his funerals, George Smith his brother, and William, the said George's son, Wood, Sir Thomas's nephew, Altham, Nicols, Recorder of Walden, Wilford, Goldwel, Dr. Pern, Dr. Levine, and many more. Of whom, as some were his relations, others the neighbouring gentry, and his worshipful friends, so several were learned men, that came, as it seems, from the University, to pay their last respects to that grave head, venerable for his profound and universal learning, and that had so well merited of the learned world.

Persons attending his funerals.

He was buried in the chancel of the parish church of Theydon Mount, where he died; on the north side whereof, at the upper end, there still remains a fair monument dedicated to his memory; though the church hath since been beat down by lightning, and rebuilt by his nephew Sir William Smith.

Buried.

He is represented by a statue of marble, lying upon his right side in armour, a loose robe about him, with the arms of the knighthood of the garter upon the left arm of the said robe, denoting him Chancellor of the Garter;

His monument.

mersetshire. But, instead of them, he went to Buxton's Well, which was more in vogue in these times, where the right noble Earl of Shrewsbury now was, with his royal charge, the Queen of Scots. But these waters no more than his physic could remove his disease.

[c] In September 1577, that is, the next month after Smith's death, Dr. Wylson succeeded Secretary, a very learned civilian, and employed in embassies abroad.

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placed under an arch or semicircle, on which is engraven this English stanza:

What earth, or sea, or skies contain,
What creatures in them be,
My mind did seek to know;
My soul the heavens continuallie.

Upward, on the highest part of the monument, was placed his coat of arms; which was three altars flaming, supported with as many lions: round which were these two verses written, alluding to the fire or flame there:

Tabificus quamvis serpens oppresserit ignem,
Qua tamen erumpendi sit data copia lucet.

Under his coat this motto, *Quapote lucet.* The inscription was as followeth.

Thomas Smithus Eques Auratus, hujus manerii Dominus, cum Regis Edwardi Sexti, tum Elizabethæ Reginæ Consiliarius, ac primi Nominis Secretarius; eorundemque Principum ad maximos Reges Legatus; nobiliss. Ordinis Garterii Cancellarius, Ardæ, Australisque Claneboy in Hibernia Colonellus: Juris Civilis supremo titulo etiamnum adolescens insignitus; Orator, Mathematicus, Philosophus excellentissimus; linguarum Latinæ, Græcæ, Hebraicæ, Gallicæ etiam et Italicæ callentissimus: proborum et ingeniosorum hominum fautor eximius, plurimis commodans, nemini nocens; ab injuriis ulciscendis alienissimus: denique sapientia, pietate, integritate insignis: et in omni vita, seu æger seu valens, intrepidus mori. Cum ætatis suæ 65 *annum complevisset, in ædibus suis Montaulensibus* 12 *die Aug. anno salutis* 1577, *piè et suaviter in Domino obdormivit.*

Next under the effigies is this grave sentence, *Gloria vitæ anteactæ celebrem facit in terræ visceribus sepultum.* Under that, this distich:

Innocuus vixi, si me post funera lædas,
Cœlesti Domino facta (sceleste) lues.

He left behind him his second wife, Philippa, who died the year after him, that is, the 20th day of June 1578, and was there buried by him, as is expressed in the base of the aforesaid monument.

Anno 1577. Q. Eliz. His lady dies.

Sir Thomas Smith was of a fair sanguine complexion; his beard, which was large, and somewhat forked, at the age of thirty-three years, was toward a yellow colour. He had a calm ingenious countenance; as appears by the picture of him, hanging up in the parlour of Hill-hall, done, as they say, by Hans Holbein; where he is represented with a round cap on his head, and in a gown, as a civilian: a great ruby ring upon his fore finger, with a curious seal, which ring is still preserved in the family, and in the possession of Sir Edward Smith; laying one of his hands upon a globe, that of his own making, as you may suppose. Underneath the picture is written *Love and fear*, the two great principles of actions, wherewith God and princes are to be served.

His person described.

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His last Will.

Anno 1577. Q. Eliz. Makes his will.

HE began to frame his will in the first threatenings of his last sickness, that is, about April 2, 1576: "wherein "he piously bequeathed his soul to God his Creator and "Redeemer; by whose mercy he trusted to be one of his "elect: (I use the words of his said will:) and his body to "be buried at Theydon Mount, or else where it should "please his executors, and with such ceremony as should "please them, and they should think convenient; having "rather regard to the relief of the poor, than to any ex-"treme manner of mourning, not becoming Christians; "knowing that (as he trusted) he should die to a better "life, and go to his God and his hope, which he had so "longed for."

For the finishing of his house and monument.

And whereas he was then in building of his house and sepulchral monument for himself and his lady, by a platform of his own; for the perfecting them, as also for mending of the ways, he left his ready money and debts owing him, after his funerals and legacies discharged, and all his chains of gold, (which seem to have been given him in his embassies,) and a thousand ounces of gilt plate, and more, if need were, together with all the materials of timber and other stuff prepared and laid in for that purpose.

To his lady,

To his lady, for her housekeeping, suitable to her, and his quality, he gave all his kine, oxen, sheep, plough, cart-horses, and all his cattle at Theydon at Mount, called his stock; which was a little before, by the least account, valued at 430*l.* or thereabouts, and brought at that time to 300*l.* and odd, by the expenses of Christmas; (so that his last Christmas-keeping cost him, it seems, near 130*l.*) besides swine, and the corn sown upon the ground, and all his wheat, malt, and bargain of malt, wine, hops, and other such like provision, to help her to keep house. But upon condition she maintained, until his buildings were

fully finished, and the ways about his house mended, so many teams as were then to be occupied about carriages. And upon condition also, that what should remain of the said stock, at the time of her decease, and the corn sown by her upon the grounds, should remain to his brother George, or such as by Sir Thomas's device should succeed in Mounthal. To his wife he also gave all her apparel, jewels, chains of gold, and all such bedsteads and bedding, all goblets, bowls, and other plate, which she brought with her from Hampden, to dispose at her will and pleasure. And more, to the furniture of her house she might choose out seven hundred ounces of such of his plate, gilt or ungilt, as she should think best to serve her turn.

For preserving good housekeeping.

Which seven hundred ounces of plate he gave after her death to his brother George, or who should succeed at his manor of Theydon at Mount; and all the bedsteads, beds, and furniture there, as were in his new building; and other brass, pewter, and implements, as well bought as made at his charge. These not to be sold nor alienated away; but at least two third parts thereof to remain to him that should succeed his brother George in Theydon at Mount; giving security to his nephew, John Wood, and his heirs, and so each successor to his successor. And all this caution Sir Thomas used for the better securing good housekeeping, at that which had been his seat, for times to come. And because his wife might take away and dispose of several things then at his house, which had been brought from Hampden; to supply such defects, he gave his brother George all his household linen, beds, and hangings, that belonged to Ankerwic, another house of his in Barkshire; that so his house at Hill-hall might not be disfurnished. Nay, and such care did he take for creditable housekeeping there, that if any person, to whom he had willed the premises, were suspected not to perform this condition to his successor, it should be lawful for him, to whom it should descend after the death of the suspected, to require sureties for the performance of the condition; which if it were refused, then the two third parts left to

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the suspected, should be immediately delivered to his possession who should succeed him, as his own, given from Sir Thomas to him.

Anno 1577. Q. Eliz.

To his brother.

He gave his brother George a thousand ounces of plate, for the furnishing of his stock: but upon condition that he left three fourth parts of that to him that should succeed him in Theydon Mount; and his successor to the next; and his successor again to the next; and so each to other. And all this was still for preserving and keeping up of the house at Hill-hall.

His library to Queen's college,

Many legacies besides he gave to his relations, friends, and dependents. And because he saw none of those that should succeed him of a long time were like to take to learning, he gave all his Latin and Greek books to Queen's college in Cambridge, (where he had been brought up,) and his great globe, of his own making; but so that the master and fellows, having warning so soon as he was dead, or at the least so soon as he was buried, or before, (the which he willed they should have, with a true inventory carried to them of his said books,) sent carts to fetch them away within ten or twelve days. And these he gave also, upon condition, that they chained them up in their library, or did distribute them among the fellows, such as would best occupy them; but so that they did it by indenture and condition, that when they departed from the college, they restored them to the college again. But in case the master and fellows of the said college would not fetch them away, sending some careful man to see them well trussed and packed, then he gave them to Peter House, upon like condition. If neither of them would do it, then he willed his executors to sell or use them at their discretion.

Or Peter House.

Books to his friends.

But yet of many of his books he made gifts to his learned friends, or scholars at the University. As to Mr. Shaw, parson of the parish wherein he lived, Chrysostom's Works in five volumes, Origen in two volumes, Luther's Works, Bucer, Galatinus, Felvus super Psalterium, Pet. Martyr in lib. Judicum. And as he gave these divinity

books to a divine, so to one Thomas Crow, a physician, whom he called his servant, he gave these books of Galen, de Compositione Medicamentorum, de Alimentorum Facultatibus, Methodus Medendi. Petrus Pena de Herbis, Antidotarium speciale. Turner's Herbal, Fallopii Opera, Rondeletius. And besides these, he gave him the Monument of Martyrs in two volumes, and a Latin Bible in quarto, gilded. Also to Sir Clement Smith (so called, I suppose, because he was in Priest's orders, then a resident of Queen's college, and the same I conjecture with him that was after Doctor of Divinity, a younger son of his brother George) he gave, or rather lent, Titus Livius, Aristotle in Greek, and Plato in Greek and Latin, Tully's Works, and ten more of his books, which the said Clement would choose; on condition, that when he went away from the college, he should restore them to the college again.

A cup to the Queen.

He gave a standing massy cup, which had the seven planets in the cover, to the Queen, as most worthy, "having all the good gifts endued by God, which he "ascribed to the seven planets; (they be the words of "the will;) praying her Majesty to take that simple gift in "good worth, as coming from her faithful and loving sub-"ject."

In case of doubt arising in the will.

And in case of any ambiguity or doubt arising in any part of his will, he gave authority to his executors to add to it, to make it more plain, with good advice, so that they kept the true meaning and sense. And then himself gave a general explanation of one chief part of his will, namely, that he would have him that should enjoy the house and manor of Theydon at Mount to be able to keep house there, to the relief of the poor, and to set neighbours at work. But if the executors could not reconcile some ambiguity that might happen in his will, that then they should stand to the decision and judgment of his cousin Nicols, a lawyer, Mr. Henry Archer, (a worthy gentleman of the parish of Theyden Garnons, afterwards living and dying at Low Leyton,) and Parson Shaw aforementioned; whom he made supervisors of his will. Which he

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did in a great point of wisdom, to avoid controversies of law, which oftentimes break friendship, and swallow up an estate so contended for.

His executors.

He made his youngest brother, George Smith, who had several children, and his nephew by his sister, John Wood, his executors.

The date of his will.

This will is said to be reviewed and corrected by him after the death of his nephew, William Smith, of Walden, (the son, as it seems, of his second brother, John Smith,) February 18, 1576, when he signed with his hand every page. All his manors, lands, and tenements, he had already given by indenture, made between him on the one part, and Francis Walsingham, Secretary to the Queen, James Altham, Henry Archer, Esquires, Humphrey Mitchel, and his nephew John Wood, on the other part; bearing date February 4th, in the 19th year of the Queen. This will was proved August 15, 1577, before Thomas Yale, by John Wood, that is, three days after Sir Thomas's death; and by George Smith, not before May 14, 1578. I do not meet with many bequests of charity in this will, because those acts he seemed to have done, as the wisest and surest course, in his life-time, when himself might see them truly and justly performed.

CHAP. XVII.

Observations upon Sir Thomas Smith.

NOW to make a few observations upon this wise and learned gentleman.

And first, of his learning. For he was one of the greatest scholars of his age, and one of those many brave shoots that the University of Cambridge then produced; as Denny, Cheke, Haddon, Ascham, Ponet, Cecil, and some others, that for their merits and parts were transplanted to the Court. His profession was the Civil Law, and he was the first Regius Professor of it in the University, placed therein by the royal founder, King Henry VIII. whose scholar he was. But though that were his profession, yet he was a man of general learning. He was a great Platonist; which noble and useful philosophy he and Cheke brought into study in the University, accustomed before to the crabbed, barbarous, useless schoolmen. Haddon, speaking to him of Plato, calleth him *Plato tuus*, your Plato; who, he told him, called upon him to serve his country, and to be ready too to give it all that he had received from it. His learning. A Platonic.

He understood physic well. In his oration for the Queen's marrying, against him that had declaimed for her single life, and among other reasons for it urged the diseases and infirmities that attended child-bearing; he asserted, on the contrary, how it preserved women from diseases and other inconveniences, and cleared their bodies, amended their colour, and prolonged their health; and undertook to bring the authorities and reasons of physic for it. And when, in March 1574, the Lord Treasurer had a fit of an ague, Smith shewed his skill that way, by the judgment that he made of it; saying, "That he trust-"ed it was but *diaria*, coming of a sudden obstruction in "the pores of his skin, as he told him, by cold; that "which, in a rare body and tenderly kept, must needs be, "till either by evaporation or sweat the same be opened A physician.

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" again." And so he hoped that now that Lord had but the weariness of that accident, and no formed ague. His skill herein also appeared in his discoursing so learnedly of his own distemper, as we heard before.

His recipe for the plague.

And here I will set down a recipe I find in one of his note-books, under his own hand, for a sickness, in the years 1558 and 1559, among the people. " Watercresses, " scabious, pileworth, agrimony. Boil these with barley, of " each a good handful, (saving agrimony, but a little,) two " sticks of liquorice, bruised with an hammer, in running " water, two gallons, till the one half be consumed. Drink " warm, morning and evening, half a pint or thereabouts at " a draught; and at other times of the day cold. If they " sweat after it, it is the better. This purifieth the blood, " and taketh away that kind of plague or sickness." But there is the name of Mr. Gale set under this recipe, from whence perhaps therefore he had it.

His chymical water sent to the Countess of Oxford.

Once more I find him playing the physician with the Countess of Oxon, the Lord Treasurer's beloved daughter; when, in the month of December 1574, she lay under sickness, and far gone in it, her stomach gone, and not able to digest any thing, which made her refuse all physic. Sir Thomas sent her a water to take in a spoon at once, and so to use it from time to time. Of his sending this water to her he gave her noble and disconsolate father to understand, and withal let him know the properties of it; and that if she took no other sustenance in three days, it would nourish her sufficiently. And within twenty-four hours he doubted not but his Lordship would see great effects, and peradventure some appetite to meat to begin to come to her within that space; adding, that there was never any one yet but felt good by it.

His Matthiolus.

He was very conversant in the commentaries of Matthiolus upon Dioscorides; and had interspersed his own book of Matthiolus with many notes and observations of his own. It was a book that was never wont to go from him: but somebody, it seems, once had stolen it, which grieved him not a little, complaining to his friends, that

he had rather have lost a far better thing: nor could another be bought any where in London. Therefore in the year 1572, Walsingham being Ambassador in France, he prayed him to procure him the said book there translated into French, and to let it be bound with two or three sheets of paper, before and in the end, to serve him for inserting his notes. This book Walsingham accordingly bought, and sent him over. And Smith liked it well; but yet, as he told him, if he could have recovered his own, noted through with his own hand, he should have liked that far better. By his conversing in these books, we may judge of his learning that way.

A chymist.

And as chymistry is but an handmaid of physic, and usually accompanieth it, so he was as well skilled in that art also; and had apartments in his house for his stills and laboratories, which were going to his great cost; but especially in labouring to transmute coarser metals into those of more fineness and greater value.

A mathematician.

He was an excellent mathematician, and, for his recreation therein, made a large globe by his own hand. It was his love and practice of the mathematics that made him desire of Walsingham, at the same time he sent to him to buy him Matthiolus, to procure him also a case of mathematical instruments, directing him to the place where they were sold, that is, at the palace in Paris. He meant that it should contain two compasses or three, a square, a pen of metal, and other things. He had two already; but he was minded to have another of the biggest size, with the case a foot long. Walsingham accordingly, in January 1572, sent him a case of tools; but such, it seems, as were extraordinary: for Smith himself understood not them all, nor looked for so many, nor of that sort. But this was proper employment for him; and at his leisure he intended to find out the property and use of them.

An arithmetician.

What an arithmetician he was appears by his money tables.

An astronomer.

Nor was he a smatterer in astronomy. The new star, which in the year 1572 appeared in Cassiopeia, exercised

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much his thoughts, as it did the rest of the learned men of the world. And he could almost have been willing to believe it to be the soul of that brave Admiral of France, that had been a little before that time so basely murdered in the Parisian massacre. Smith was mighty desirous to know what foreign learned men judged of this new star: therefore, December 11, 1572, he wrote to Walsingham thus of it: "That he was sure he had heard of it, and he "thought had seen the new fair star or comet, but without "beard or tail, which appeared in England these three "weeks, on the back side of the chair Cassiopeia, and on "the edge of *via lactea*. The bigness was betwixt the "bigness of Jupiter and Venus; and kept there, to his "appearance, who had no instrument then to observe it; "and because of that cold weather also, dared not observe "the precise order of the fixed stars. Such an one he had "never observed, nor read of: he therefore prayed Wal-"singham to let him know what their wise men of Paris "did judge upon it. He knew they would not think it "that Admiral's soul, as the Romans did of the comet "next appearing after the murder of Julius Cæsar, that it "was his soul. It might be Astræa," said he, "now peak-"ing out afar in the north, to see what revenge shall be "done upon so much innocent blood, shed in France, at a "marriage banquet, and reer suppers after it: yet that it "would be acceptable to him to understand what their "astronomers and heaven-gazers there did judge of it." He added, "that if he were not so much occupied as he "was, he would turn over all his old books, but he would "say something of it himself, and guess by chance even as "wisely as they; though he would not publish it but to his "friends." Walsingham, in answer to this of the Secretary, sent him certain notes, and a new book from France, of this new comet: for which he thanked him; but withal he observed to him, that in the placing of it, their astronomers and these in England differed exceedingly; theirs placing it in the 29th of Pisces, and ours in the 7th degree of Taurus. So they varied one whole sign and eight de-

His judgment of the star in Cassiopeia.

grees. He observed, moreover, that the printed book went upon it *suspenso pede*; and prayed the Ambassador, that if any had writ upon it more boldly, he might see it. He added further, that our men did not deny that it arose in that degree of Pisces, or the first of Taurus; but that it was one thing to rise with the degree of the zodiac, and to stand in a place after section of the zodiac; and that our men did find him far above the moon, and above the height of the sphere of Venus: and then it could not be a temporary comet. Concluding, "No things above the "moon do rise and die, which was never believed afore; "but either a new star made, or an old star new seen." Thus we see him busy in his astronomy: nay, if we may believe his poet, and that he did not take too much poetical liberty, Smith was arrived to the very top of the astronomical skill, and might be a companion for Ptolomy, Alphonsus, and Zacutus, if they were alive.

Nec polus aut tellus magis ulli cognita cuiquam.
Quorsum ego dissimulem? Fuit unus et unicus ille
Filius Uraniæ, Ptolomæo major utroque,
Et centum Alphonsis, et plusquam mille Zacutis.

And perhaps the love and study of the stars might be one reason that he delighted so much in his high seat at Mounthaut, where he might have a more spacious prospect of the skies[a].

[a] Smith also well understood that other part of learning relating to the stars, called astrology, which was in much vogue in these times, namely, the art of knowing things to come by the position of the stars and planets. Of which nevertheless he made no account, and called it by no better name than "*the* "*most ingenious art of lying;*" as Richard Eden, once his pupil at Cambridge, had heard him speak. For he, speaking of these superstitious horoscopers, how they were accustomed to use observations in the election of hours, times, and days, by constellations, and aspects of the stars and planets, as many fond men had done, thinking thereby to have escaped such dangers, as in truth they had the rather thereby fallen into by foolish confidence in astrology, mentions, that for the vanity and uncertainty thereof, the right worshipful and of singular learning in all sciences Sir Thomas Smith, in his time the flower of the University of Cambridge, and his tutor, was accustomed to call it *ingeniosissimam artem mentiendi.*

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A politician.

In state policy he was a great master; which, by long experience in state matters at home in the reigns of four princes, and embassies abroad, he had acquired. Walsingham, that most complete and happy Secretary of State, improved himself much by making his observations of Smith: how quick and sharp his apprehension of things, how grave and sound his counsels, and with what dexterity and admirable parts he managed public affairs, and yet with clean and just hands. So he sung that made his funeral verses:

——— *Socius tantorum insignis honorum*
Qui vigilanti oculo Smithi *observasset acumen,*
Sensissetque acres sensus, animumque virilem,
Consiliumque grave, et pectus moresque colendos,
Virtutes etiam raras, dotesque stupendas.

A linguist.

An historian.

An orator.

He was also an excellent linguist, and a master in the knowledge of the Latin, Greek, French, Italian, and English tongues. A great historian, especially in the Roman history. An orator equal to the best, and a perfect Ciceronian: a notable specimen of whose oratory and history, as well as of his polities, appears in his discursive orations about Queen Elizabeth's marriage. He had also a very good genius in architecture, which that noble pile of building at Hill-hall doth sufficiently demonstrate. And in the art of gardening he was very curious and exact; employing his own hands sometimes for his diversion in graffing and planting. At which work I find him when he was making an orchard for his new house, about the latter end of 1572, having made an escape from the Court, though the winds then were very unkind to him: of which complaining to the Lord Treasurer, he said he should soon be weary of Mounthaut, because he could not graff nor transplant any trees, the winds that then brought over the Earl of Worcester from France, (who had been lately sent to christen that King's child,) being, as he said, the worst enemy to all cutting, paring, or breaking of trees here in England, that could be, or for setting of herbs.

An architect.

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His library.

And as he was an universal and thorough-paced scholar, so he had a most complete library, and kept a learned correspondence, and was of a very accurate judgment in matters of learning. His library consisted of a thousand books of various learning and arts, as we are told by the learned man his friend, that made his *parentalia:* which noble treasure he bestowed upon his own college, where at least the remainders of them are to this day; besides some Italian and French books, which he gave to the Queen's library.

———Libros monumentaque mille
Græca, Latina omnis generis, nova, prisca, profana,
Religiosa dedit:
Italicos præter quosdam Francosque libellos
Elizabeteæ pius heros bibliothecæ.

A catalogue of the books which he had at Hill-hall in the year 1566 may be seen in the Appendix. Num. VI.

Books by him written.

And as he was owner of many books, so he composed not a few himself; three whereof are printed. 1. His Commonwealth of England, both in Latin and English. 2. Of the right and correct Writing of the English Tongue. This I suppose is the same book with that which Fuller, in his History of Cambridge, mentions, of his more compendious way of printing; which would defalcate a fifth part of the cost in paper and ink, besides as much of the pains in composing and printing, only by discharging many superfluous letters, and accommodating the sounds of long and short vowels, with distinct characters. 3. Of the right and correct Pronouncing of the Greek Language. Both these last mentioned were published by himself in Latin, when he was Ambassador in Paris. There is a fourth book lately printed, *viz.* 1685, which some make him the author of, namely, Of the Authority, Form, and Manner of holding Parliaments. Other tracts there be of his, that have lain hitherto unpublished; as his Orations about the Queen's marriage; his Discourse of Money, and his Tables for the reducing the Roman Coins to the just P. 81.

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English standard. I have also seen another large writing, which, by the hand, seems to be his, shewing certain ways and means for the taking care of, and for the maintaining the poor of the nation; and many more, whereof as yet neither the sight nor the particular subjects have come unto me. To which I add several excellent letters of his, when Ambassador in France, to the Lord Burghley; and being Secretary of State, to Sir Francis Walsingham, Ambassador in the same Court, which are printed in the Complete Ambassador; and a bundle of other letters writ to the Court, when he was Ambassador with the French King anno 1562, the Earl of Warwick going then in the famous expedition to New-haven, which are yet reserved in the King's Paper House.

A great judge in learning.

He was a great judge of learning, and applications were often made to him for his judgment in matters of that nature: so Dr. Haddon appealed once to him, in a sharp controversy between the French Ambassador and himself, whether Tully were a good lawyer; which that Ambassador had denied: and how learnedly this was decided by Sir Thomas Smith, may be seen in this history: and both Cecil and the said Haddon would not allow the answer to Osorius to come abroad, till it had passed his accurate perusal and correction.

His acquaintance.

His acquaintance was with the learned men of his age; as Ramus, and other Professors in Paris, while he was there: and with Cheke, Cecil, Haddon, Wilson, Ascham, men of the finest wits and purest learning. Of this last, in a letter to Haddon from France, he inquired diligently after, and complained that for two years and six months he had heard nothing from him; and then added merrily, that his cocks (for he was a great cock master) *ita illum excantâsse*, i. e. "had so enchanted him," that he had quite forgotten his friends. And I find the correspondence between him and Ascham continued after; for in 1568 Ascham requested of Smith to borrow a book of his own writing: to which Smith answered by a letter, that he had sent it to Walden to be transcribed, lest the first

copy and the whole invention should perish together; and Haddon being lately dead, Smith in the same letter told Ascham, that his epistles were found, but not all, and that his own epistles to Haddon were more uncertain: for they reckoned it pity any thing of that most humane and learned friend of theirs should be lost; and so there was a purpose to collect together his epistles, and to publish them; and so they were afterwards by Hatcher of Cambridge. This Ascham, about the year 1568, sent an astronomical figure to Smith, drawn by some ingenious astronomer of the said Ascham's acquaintance; upon which he sent a Latin letter from Mounthaut, thanking Ascham for it, and declaring how much he was pleased with it, and that he would willingly be acquainted with the person that described it: he acknowledged he professed himself this study; and this person seemed to him to write ingeniously and learnedly, and not according to the vulgar manner of unlearned men, who abused themselves, and the opinion of their learning, for gain: whose friendship he declared he desired not, and whose familiarity he was averse to. And the diagram and figure that Ascham sent, he dispatched back to him, with his own judgment of the same, as it was put or placed. Sir Thomas erected a figure concerning the same hour and day, according to the Ephemeris of Joh. Stadius; of which he said the diagram seemed a little to differ, but the judgment not so much. Thus we see his correspondence, and withal his disposition to that kind of study, of judicial astrology.

The vogue of his learning.

And in fine, of the great opinion that went of Sir Thomas Smith's learning, I shall mention this passage: when Dr. Wilson, one of his learned friends, Master of St. Katharine's, and afterwards Secretary of State, had for news wrote to Haddon, then Ambassador at Bruges, of the Queen's going to visit the University of Oxford anno 1565, and of the report of the great learning in that place, and what learned exercises were then expected to be performed there before her Majesty; Haddon answered, not to disparage that noble University, or the complete scho-

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lars that were there, but to take the opportunity of commending one or two other egregious men, *viz.* that however magnificently it was talked of the learned men there, *nec Smithi ibi simile quicquam, aut Checi occurret*, i. e. "there would be nothing like to Smith or Cheke."

Beneficial to learning.

And as he was learned himself, so he was beneficial to learning; which appeared in that most useful act of Parliament, which he procured for the colleges of students; which was, that a third part of the rent upon leases made by colleges should be reserved in corn, the tenant to pay it either in kind or money, after the rate of the best prices in Oxford or Cambridge markets, the next market-days before Michaelmas or our Lady-day. The great benefit whereof scholars do find to this day, and will so long as the Universities last. To his own college of Queen's he gave for ever 12*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.* being a rent charge out of the manor of Overston in Northamptonshire: which he appointed to be thus disposed of, according as the reverend Doctor James, the present worthy Master of the same college, was pleased to impart to me; that is to say, four pounds for a lecture in arithmetic; three pounds for a lecture in geometry; four pounds seven shillings and fourpence for two scholarships; appointing his own relations, or the scholars from Walden school, *cæteris paribus*, to be made his scholars before any others: and the twenty shillings remaining for a yearly commemoration. And of Eton college, where he was once Provost, Camden tells us he merited well: but in what particular respects I cannot tell, except in making his college leases always with a reserve of rent corn, divers years before it became an act for the benefit of other colleges. And I find the Provost and college of St. Mary of Eton purchased of King Edward VI. in the first of his reign, for the sum of 25*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.* and in performance of King Henry's last will, and in consideration of the exchange of the manor of Milbourn Beck, Lutton, and Ponyngton in the county of Dorset, and divers other lands and tenements; the rectory of Great Compton in Warwickshire, lately parcel of the possession of Tho-

mas Cromwel, Knight, Earl of Essex, attainted of high treason; the rectory of Bloxham in the county of Oxon, lately parcel of the late monastery of Godstow in the said county, and divers other lands and tenements in the counties of Oxford, Bedford, Lincoln, Warwick, to the value of 82*l.* 11*s.* The patent bare date the 30th of August 1547; in which whether Sir Thomas Smith was any ways serviceable to the college I know not, but suppose he might be.

His places.

And this learning of his raised him to honour and wealth: under King Edward VI. he was made Provost of Eton, where whether he were present or absent, there was always a good house kept: Dean of Carlisle, and Master of Requests in the Duke of Somerset's family, after Cecil had left that place; wherein he was most unjustly scandalized by his enemies, to have been a bribe-taker; for which he was fain to vindicate himself. He became also Steward of the Stannaries. Soon after his abilities were so well known, that he was advanced to be one of the principal Secretaries of State, and employed in great commissions and matters of trust. Under Queen Elizabeth he was divers times Ambassador in France, and at last a Privy Councillor, Chancellor of the Garter, and Secretary of State.

His wealth.

His wealth consisted in his land and houses. He had the manor of Yarlington in Somersetshire, worth 30*l.* per annum, that he bought with the money he had gotten at Cambridge, before he came into the Lord Protector's service; and he purchased it at 300*l.* or thereabouts, of the Marquis of Northampton, to whom it was given at the coronation of Queen Katharine his sister. He purchased also the college of Darby, whether a religious house or a fraternity, I do not well know. I find he had also these houses, to some of which were annexed manors and large demesnes: one was in Chanon Row in Westminster, which he once let out to the Comptroller of King Edward's household, for thirty shillings per annum, but afterwards lived in it himself when Secretary, being a very

His houses.

In Chanon Row.

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fair house; and there the Divines in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, together with himself, conferred about reforming of religion. He had another house in

In London.

Philpot-lane in London, which was a large and fair dwelling: the title whereof being dubious, he had like to have lost his money and purchase too; but he procured his master and friend the Duke of Somerset, to obtain from the King the confirmation of his title. The free dwelling in this house he gave to his younger brother George, a merchant; to whom he was very kind, lending him also 300*l.* for the carrying on of his trade, without interest or consideration. Sir Thomas had another house in Fleet-lane, with several other tenements, which he held of the Clothworker's Company of London: and here he would sometimes be, as a recess from Court. In the country he

Ankerwick.

had Ankerwick, (his country retirement in King Edward's reign, once a religious house for Nuns,) in Buckinghamshire, very large and spacious, with a chapel. In Queen Elizabeth's reign he frequented not this house so much; then delighting more in Mounthal, standing high, as Ankerwick was low and waterish; which I suppose he therefore avoided, thinking it not so wholesome for him, being very subject to cold rheums. In the year 1569 he took an account of the furniture in each chamber. Here he named his own chamber, the chamberlain's chamber, the great guest chamber, the matted chamber, the inner chamber to the same on the south side, the north inner chamber, his father's chamber, my Lord's chamber, (by which Lord I suppose he meant the Duke of Somerset,) the high gallery called Cole's chamber, the hall, the little parlour, the great parlour, the chapel, the wardrobe, the lodge. By which rooms one may guess at the largeness of the house; and by the furniture one may also conclude upon his housekeeping; where, besides abundance of linen, beds, and household stuff, in his wife's closet there was a plate-chest, containing these pieces: a little basin and ewer, two standing French bowls, with a cover, all gilt; one gilt gallon pot square; two great flagons, all gilt; three Fle-

mish bowls with their cover, parcel gilt; two goblets, all gilt, with their covers; three French salts, all gilt, with a cover; a basin and vast, all gilt; three French bowls, all gilt, with a cover; twelve French spoons, with hyena's feet; two drinking pots of silver, one all gilt, the other white. For the furniture in the chapel was a cupboard or altar of walnut tree; vestment and albe for the Priest; a Bible, and a pair of virginals, instead of an organ, I suppose. The plate and furniture of his other houses where he dwelt was proportionable; for he kept four houses furnished, two in the city, (besides his lodgings at Whitehall,) and two in the country.

But the house which he most delighted in, and was his last retirement, was that at Mounthaut, or Hill-hall, in the county of Essex; which was the jointure of his wife, made her upon her marriage with Sir John Hamden, Knight, her first husband, the reversion whereof after her death Sir Thomas Smith purchased. Here, near the ancient manor-house, he began a stately structure, though he lived not to finish it; but he made careful provision by his last will for the bringing it to a conclusion: and that it might have the better care taken of it, he willed Richard Kirby, his chief architect, twenty pounds, to be paid him as soon as the new house was tiled, and all carpentry work done; and also to his marriage, a silver salt, twelve silver spoons, and one silver cup. And to John Dighton, steward of his house, and overseer of the works, to encourage him to take pains to see the workmen do their work as they ought, and see them paid weekly, ten pounds. The house standeth upon a great ascent, or hill, whence it hath obtained its name. Hence is taken a very fair and delightful prospect all ways, especially south and west. Before the house, the entrance to which is northward, is a very pleasant avenue, of a great length, and suitable breadth; along which, on each side, are rows of stately elms, advancing their heads to a great height: and on the right hand are two ranges of trees of the same kind, standing very near together, making a very close solitary

Mounthaut.

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walk, fit for study and contemplation, which they call the New Walk; and the tradition goes they were planted by Sir Thomas himself, as it is most likely they were. This for the situation. The house itself is built quadrangular, adorned with great columns, imitating stone, which look very gracefully; the square court is paved with free-stone; the walls exceeding thick[b]. Though there have been great alterations and improvements made of this house by the present owner, Sir Edward Smith, yet there be still some remainders of Sir Thomas's fancy. In the dining room above stairs (so large that it is now parted into several rooms) a window westward gives the emblems of four of the seven deadly sins, painted in the glass, with the name of each vice set down under the emblem in Greek and Latin; as Φθόνος under one emblem, and Ἀκηλία under another, Ὑπερηφανία under a third, and Πορνεία under the fourth: and under each the name in Latin, as *Invidia*, *Socordia*, *Superbia*, and *Fornicatio*. The emblem of pride is the story of Lucifer and his angels cast down from heaven; round which picture are lesser emblems in smaller pieces of glass, which are obscure now, the paint fading. The smaller emblems set about that of fornication are these: the one is a set of fiddlers, under a lady's window, serenading her; and a woman naked appearing at the window, throwing water out of a chamber-pot upon their heads. In another are represented two persons duelling with swords and bucklers, fighting, you may imagine, for

[b] The great hall was formerly set round about with a great number of suits of complete armour, cap-à-pé, together with muskets, halberds, and partizans, which sets of armour were placed close by one another in a gallery whence one looks down into the hall, so that they appeared like so many men in armour standing there: and underneath against the wall were the other implements of war, hanging in due rank and order. But all these habiliments and ornaments of the hall were taken away in the times of the usurpation, when the loyal friends of King Charles I. were plundered and harassed: among whom was Sir Thomas Smith, the father of the present Sir Edward, who was sequestered and decimated. When Charles II. returned, Sir Thomas, being one of the Deputy Lieutenants of the county, searching the houses of the disaffected to the government for arms, recovered some few of his own arms, not far from home, which he replaced again in his hall, where they still remain.

their mistress; and a man hanging upon a gibbet, that must be presumed to be executed for killing his rival, the fatal end of that vice. There be also writ in these painted representations proper mottos for each: as under pride, *God resisteth the proud;* under that of sloth, *Go to the ant, thou sluggard.* These painted windows were done in 1569. The rooms had much paintings upon the walls of them, being histories out of Scripture: some whereof in one room still remain, and very plainly to be discovered, being the history of Sennacherib's army destroyed by the angel; a very fine piece: and the other paintings there seem to be very good; and there is a tradition in the family, that some of these paintings were done by Sir Thomas's own hand. And for the convenience and ornament of the house, in the year 1568, (in which year the shell of the house was finished,) he planted an orchard adjoining, to supply it with the choicest fruits, especially pears and apples, both winter and summer, which he procured from other places; whereof many of his pears he had from the Lord Rich, and of his apples from Walden: and many of both sorts came from Ankerwick. And for the further pleasure and service of the house, there were many fish-ponds, to the number of ten or a dozen, about it; which he took especial care to store with carp and tench.

This seat now flourisheth in plenty, reputation, and honour, possessed by the line of his younger brother; whereby Sir Thomas Smith's name and memory still lives, according to his design and intent in that structure. And though it wants nothing in the inside as well as the out, to adorn and beautify it; yet the choicest furniture is an excellent original of the builder, hanging up in the parlour, with these two verses written round the frame of the picture;

Cernitur effigies factis vera, at penicillus
Corporis atque umbræ tantum simulacra reponit.

And underneath,

LOVE AND FEAR. *Ætat. suæ* XXXIII.

CHAP. XVII.

His heir, Sir William Smith.

Having no child, his lady enjoyed this manor of Mounthaut, or Mounthal, for her life; and then it descended to his brother's son, Sir William Smith, son of George, a brave gentleman and soldier in Ireland, being a colonel there; till having attained to thirty years of age, he returned into England, and possessed his deceased uncle's estate. He married into the family of Fleetwood, of the Vache in Bucks, and had divers issue; and was of great figure and service in the county of Essex; all which may be better known by the inscription upon a noble monument for himself, and his lady, set up on the south side of the chancel, opposite to that of Sir Thomas Smith, his uncle, which was as follows:

To the pious memory of her loved and loving husband,

Sir William Smith, of Hilhal in the county of Essex, Knight: who, till he was thirty years old, followed the wars in Ireland, with such approbation, that he was chosen one of the Colonels of the army. But his uncle, Sir Thomas, Chancellor of the Garter, and principal Secretary of State to two princes, King Edward VI. and the late Queen Elizabeth, of famous memory, dying, he returned to a full and fair inheritance: and so bent himself to the affairs of the country, that he grew alike famous in the arts of peace as war. All offices there, sorted with a man of his quality, he right worshipfully performed, and died one of the Deputy Lieutenants of the shire; a place of no small trust and credit.

Bridget, his unfortunate widow, who, during the time of thirty-seven years, bare him three sons and four daughters, daughter of Thomas Fleetwood, of the Vache in the county of Bucks, Esquire, and sometime Master of the Mint, to allay her languor and longing after so dear a companion of her life, rather to express her affection than his office, this monument erected, destinating it to herself, their children, and posterity. He lived years seventy-six, died the 12 *of Decemb.* 1626.

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Sir Thomas Smith's virtuous accomplishments.

WE have seen Sir Thomas in his secular circumstances, as his learning, wealth, and honour made him looked upon and admired in the eye of the world. But what doth all this confer to the true reputation of a man without inward virtuous qualifications? These were other and better things that added a lustre and glory to our Knight: for his learning was accompanied with religion, and his honour became more illustrious by the excellent accomplishments of his mind.

His religion.

He was brought up in the profession of the Gospel from his tender years, and ever after stuck to it, and professed it, and that openly; and, as he had occasion, delivered and rescued good men from the persecutions and dangers that religion exposed them to, though he thereby sometimes ran himself into no small hazard. He lost all his preferments upon the change of religion under Queen Mary, when, if he had been minded to have complied, he might have had what he pleased: but he was of a stout and constant mind.

His principles by which he governed himself.

When he was in place and office abroad, or in the Court, the principles he governed himself by, were truth and integrity, an inviolable love to justice and righteous dealing, a most unchangeable faithfulness and zeal to the concerns of his Queen and country. His life and manners were unreproveable; of a grave and yet obliging behaviour: and sometimes he would take the liberty to be ingeniously merry and cheerful among his friends. A perfect stranger he was to the practices of some courtiers, namely, to those of fraud and falsehood, flattery and treachery, vice and corrupt manners. Such a description do the Muses in their Tears give him.

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——————Non fraude, dolove,
Non ullo victus fuco; patriæque suisque
Reginæque suæ fidus, non perfidus ulli,
At fidus cunctis, Cato vitâ, moribus, ore,
Sincerus sine fraude, bonus sine suspicione;
Nec levitate vacans, et sic gravitate severus,
Ut tamen atque jocos admitteret atque lepores
Innocuos, nihilumque prius sibi duceret æquo
Atque bono, cui se suaque omnia vota sacravit.

His virtues.

And again, the same Muses (shewing the reasons of his safety under the rigorous times of Queen Mary, notwithstanding he would not change nor dissemble his faith, nor comply with the religion that was uppermost,) give us a relation of his virtues, which shone so bright, that with them he did as it were charm the government to spare him.

Nec tamen interea parti assentarier ulli,
Nec simulare fidem, nec dissimulare solebat.
Mirifica virtute omnes, gravitate colenda,
Moribus antiquis, charitum, Aonidumque favore,
Numine cœlesti, non impietate nec arte
Illicita, nec perfidia, neque fraudibus ullis,
Vir bonus et sapiens, qualem vix repperit altrum
Phœbus Apollo unquam, sibi conciliabat amicos.

Vices falsely charged on him.

But as there is nothing so good but will find accusers and slanderers, so it happened to him: for his excellences created him envy and enviers: and some there were in King Edward's time, that laid several gross vices to his charge, but most unjustly; as though he were proud, a lover of money, and that for the sake of it he extorted and oppressed; that he was a buyer and seller of spiritual preferments, and chopped and changed lands. Finally, that in the changes of religion he was a complier. But these were all most false calumniations; but such as he was fain to write some sheets of paper to vindicate

himself of; whereby he was forced to set forth his own virtues unwillingly. CHAP. XVIII.

His spirit was brave and great, being a man of a resolute and active mind; faithful and diligent when Ambassador and Secretary; somewhat hasty and impatient when public matters went not as they ought, being hindered by designing men for private profit or secret grudge. And so I find him somewhere describing himself, when haughtiness was once laid to his charge: "I cannot deny, but I am "of nature hault of courage and stomach, to contemn all "perils, and worldly things, or dangers, to do my master "service, and likely more would be, but that I am by such "things [he means accusations and slanders] sometime "plucked back; and so again contented to rule my self: "being able, I thank God, to serve in the body and thilles "(as carters call it) as well as in the room of a forehorse." His spirit great.

His apparel was usually good, and like a courtier; for which he thought some might accuse him of too much prodigality. But it was more to suit the office wherein he served, than any pleasure he took in gaudy garments. He never sued any man, nor ever was sued. He never raised any rents, but contented himself with the old ones, neither of any of his lands or promotions, *viz.* Eton and Carlisle; nor heightened any fines, nor ever put out any tenant, nor ever sued any of them. He was in a place, namely, that of Master of Requests, wherein he might have received many bribes, if he would, for dispatching suits, and selling the Lord Protector's letters; but he challenged all the world to charge him with one penny that he had taken dishonestly. Two indeed of his servants did use sometimes to do so; but when it came to his knowledge, he put them away, acquainting the Protector with it, and suing to him to have one of their ears nailed to the pillory. And none living remained under more displeasure with him than they did, only for that crime, and no other. His apparel. Not oppressive.

In fine, he was of an universal charity and good-will, and wished well to all mankind, and a peaceable state to Of an universal charity.

CHAP. XVIII.

the world, as much as he wished it to himself. And that for this end among others, that every man might philosophize freely, and with the greatest liberty study to promote truth and useful knowledge; and that all others might live quietly, and mind their own business.

His apophthegms.

He often spake sharp and witty sayings; whereby his wisdom and great reach appeared. He called the Queen's ordnance *peace-makers:* and once desired her, that her *peace-makers* might be transported to Scotland; which when she had demanded of him who they were, he answered, her Majesty's cannon; adding, they must do it, and make a final conclusion.

When a matter was to be hastened, he would say, "It "is better to prevent than to be prevented;" and, "The "time draws away, and winds are changeable and minds."

Concerning alchymists, of whom he had bought experience, he would say, "Trust little to the words and pro- "mises and accounts of men of that faculty. Fain they "would be fingering of money; but when it is once in "their hands, we must seek it in the ashes."

The massacres in France he called their *beacons.* So he wrote to the Queen's Ambassador, then at that Court, "Even the Scots [otherwise great friends of France] be "awakened by your beacons in France."

When Walsingham was tired in France with expectation of coming home, which the Queen put off from time to time, Smith told him, "You are a wise man, and can "comfort yourself with wisdom and patience."

Speaking of the irresolutions and inconstancy of the Court, he said, that "till the Queen had signed, he durst "never adventure to affirm any thing, for fear of contrary "winds;" the which, he said, was no news in that Court. And again, "Ye know how long we are here a resolving, "and how easy to be altered."

"Folly the more it is kept in, the better:" meaning it of astrological judgments.

Hæc est vicissitudo rerum humanarum; hæc est communis casus hominum; speaking of the Vidame of Char-

tres, a great Protestant nobleman, escaping the butchery of the Paris massacre, but reduced thereby to mere poverty. CHAP. XVIII.

Video periculosum esse in rebus arcanis principum et regnorum nimis velle sapere. Upon occasion of the trouble of Mr John Hales, for meddling in the succession.

"The best is, we stand, I think, upon our guard; nor, I "trust, shall be taken and killed asleep, as the Admiral "was:" speaking of those times in England, upon apprehension of the danger the nation was in from the neighbouring Popish states and kingdoms.

"Happy is that prince that hath so wise a counsellor, "that can see that is best: but more happy is he that "hath one so bold that dares to tell it to him, and so be-"loved of him that he will hear it."

"Irresolution and long training will make opportunity "and occasion to fly away untaken, and a great deal of "money to be lost."

"The Gentiles were wise in their sacrifice, when the "priest cried ever and anon, *Hoc age:* for they that love "always to be *aliud agentes*, either deceive themselves or "other men."

The Queen kept her Christmas at Hampton Court 1572. From hence Smith writes to his friend about this time, "If ye would know what we do here, we play at "tables, dance, and keep Christmas." A secret lash to the Court for their carelessness at such a dangerous time as that was.

Speaking upon the talk of Sir Francis Walsingham's return home from France: "When a pin," said he, "is set "fast in a hole, till we have another to thrust that out, "and tarry there itself, it is hard to get it out." And this he said was his case.

Leland's copy of verses to Smith.

I have done, after I shall have recommended the readers to the further character and account given to this wise and learned man by two poets of those times. The one is Leland, describing him while he flourished in the University, after this manner:

CHAP. XVIII.

Doctorum celebras, Smithi, monumenta virorum
Ardenti studio, et dexteritate pari.
Unde tibi accrevit virtutis nomine fama,
Judice me, nullo deperit ura die.
Granta venusta tuas collaudat, cantitat, ornat
Eximias dotes, ingeniumque tuum.
Quicquid in Aoniis speciosum montibus olim,
Quicquid in Italicis prænitet atque jugis,
Est tibi tam notum quàm quod notissimum: abundas
Artibus, et rara cognitione vales
Fontibus eloquii sitientia labra rigasti:
Atticus ille tuo regnat in ore lepos.
Instaurare bonas pergas feliciter artes:
Laudabit factum posteritasque tuum.

Dr. Byng's epitaph on him.

And the other was Dr. Byng, Regius Professor of the Civil Law in Cambridge; who, when the first news of Smith's departure was brought thither, gave him this epitaph:

Hic sistas celerem gradum, viator,
Magno funera dum Smitho parantur,
An mirare Smithum quod ipse Magnum
Dicam, quem tumulus teget pusillus?
Et magnum ingenio scias fuisse,
Et magnum omnibus artibus quæ habentur
Doctis in pretio, simulque magna
Tractavisse negotia, atque curas
Magnas sustinuisse maximorum
Regum quêis operam suam dicârat.
Sic magnusque domi, forisque magnus,
Nunc magno fruitur poli theatro.

THE

APPENDIX

TO THE FOREGOING

HISTORY

OF THE LIFE OF

SIR THOMAS SMITH, KNIGHT.

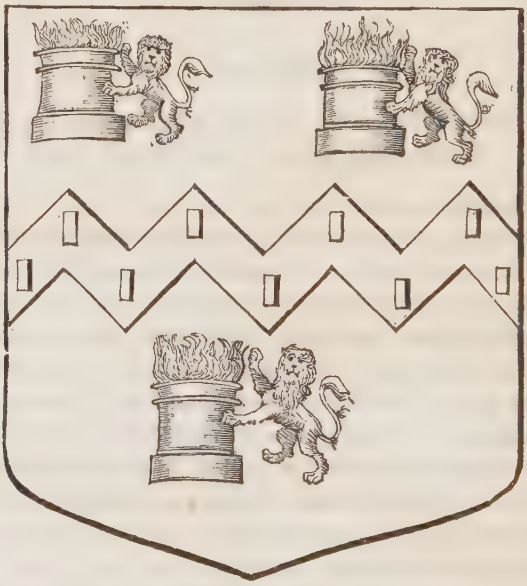
Number I.

The patent granted by Garter King at Armes to John Smith, Gentleman, for his coat of armes.

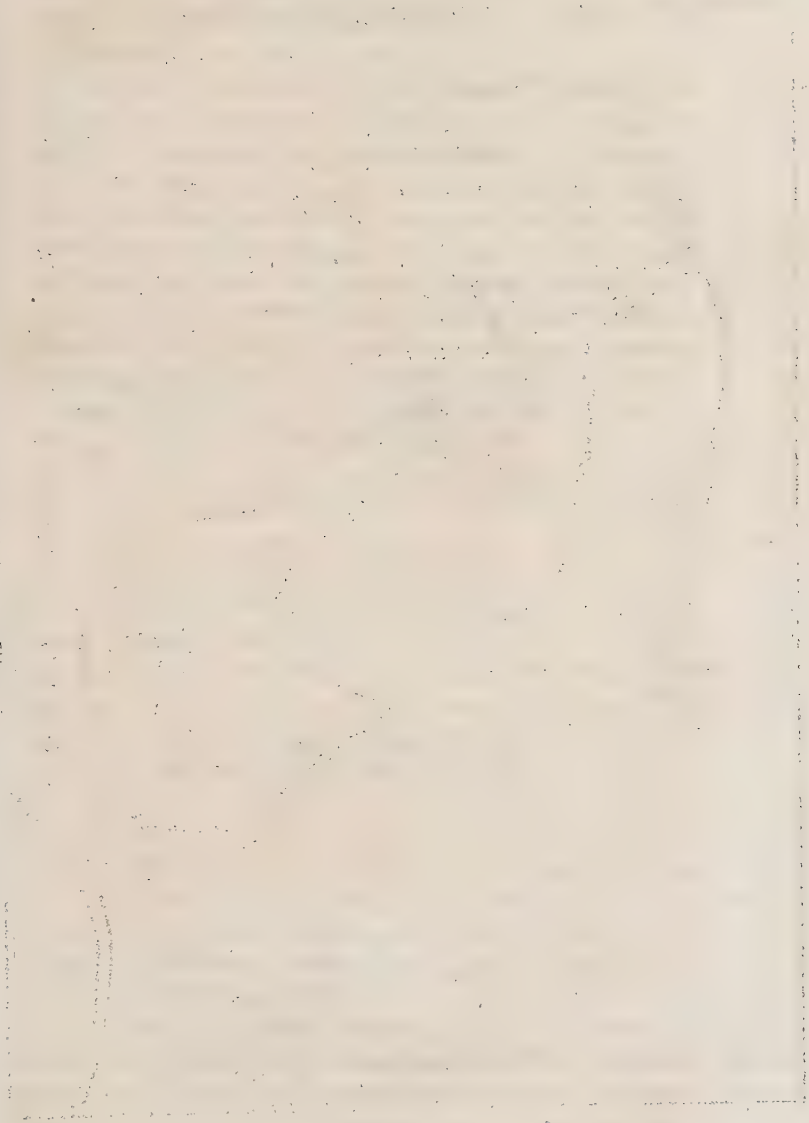
To al and singular persons, thesse presente letters hearing or seeing, Christopher Barker, Esq. alias Garter, Principal King of Armes of English men, sendeth due and humble recommendations and greting. Ex original. pat. penes D. Ed. Smith, Bar.

Equity willeth and *reason* ordeineth, that men vertuose and of noble courage be by their merits and good renoume rewarded, and had in perpetual memory for their good name, and to be in all places of honour and wurship among other noble persons accepted and reputed, by shewing of certain ensignes of vertue, honour, and gentylnes: to the entent that by their ensample others shuld the more perseverantly enforce themselves to use their tyme in honourable wirkes, and vertuose dedes, to purchase and get the renoume of auncient noblesse, not onely for themselves, but also for ther lynge and posteritie of theym descended, according to ther demerits and valiaunt actions, to be taken furth and reputed among al nobylls and gen-

tylls. And albeyt John Smythe of Walden in the countie of Essex is descended of honest lignage, and all his auncestors and predecessours hath long continued in nobylite, and beryng armes lawful and convenyent; yet nevertheless he beyng uncertayne thereof, and not willyng to do any [thing] prejudicial to no manner of person, hath requyred and instantlie desyred me the foresaid Garter, to ratifie and confirme unto him, and also to register in my recorde the true armes and blazon of his seyd auncestours. And therefore I the foreseyd Garter, by vertue, power, and authorite of myne office, as Principal King of Armes granted, annexed and attributed by the King our Soveraign Lord, have appointed and confirmed unto the seyd John Smythe thesse armes and crest with thappurte-



nances hereafter following, *viz.* sables, a fece dauncye betwixt III lyonceux regardant, argent, langes goules, pawsing with their lyft pawes upon an awlter gold, flaming and bourning thereon. Upon the fece, IX bellets of his felde.



Sr Thomas Smiths new Engliſh Alphabet.

Nomen.	Poteſtas.	Exemplum.
A a.	A short.	Man. Hat.
A'ä a~.	A long.	Mân, i.e. Maine. Hât, i.e. Hate.
B b.	Be.	
C c.	Ch Tch final.	Ceri, i.e. Chery. Mac, i.e. Match.
D d.	De.	
Δ ð Δ Đ.	Δe, i.e. Th.	Δou, i.e. Thou. Bað, i.e. Bath.
E e.	E short.	Led. Bred. Hel.
E'ë ẽe-	E long.	Lëd, i.e. Lead. Brêd, i.e. Bread. He-l, i.e. Heal.
Ɨ ë.	E Engliſh.	Brëd, i.e. Breed. Hel, i.e. Heel.
F f.	Ef.	Fül. Strïf.
V ▽ F.	Ev.	Vi-l, i.e. Vile. Stri▽, i.e. Strive.
G g.	Ge.	Gaï. Get.
Ʒ ʒ.	Ʒe.	Ʒai, i.e. Iay. Ʒet, i.e. Iet.
H he.	Ha.	
I i y.	I short.	Hid. Bi, i.e. By.
I'ï ĩ u-	I long.	Hid, i.e. Hide. Bĩ, i.e. Buy.
K k.	Ka.	Kat, Kac, i.e. Catch.
L l.	El.	
M m.	Em.	
N n.	En.	
O o.	O short.	Hop, Hors, i.e. Horſe.
O'ö õ o.	O long.	Höp, i.e. Hope. Hörs, i.e. Hoarse.
P p.	Pe.	
Q q.	Quu.	
R r.	Er.	
S s.	Es.	
Z z.	Ezed.	Liz, i.e. Lyes. Di-z, i.e. Dyes.
Ʃ ʃ.	Es, i.e. Esh.	Leʃ, i.e. Leash. Fiʃ, i.e. Fish.
T t.	Te.	
U' U u.	U short.	Buk, i.e. Buck. Full.
U'p ü w̃.	U long.	Bük, i.e. Book. Fül, i.e. Fool.
V v v.	v Greek.	Tru, i.e. True. Ru, i.e. Rue. Nÿ, i.e. New.
X x x.	Ex.	

Upon his crest an eagle rysing sables, holding in his right cley a pen argent, issuing therout flames of fyer, set upon a wreath argent and azure, mantelles goules, lined argent, botoned gold: to have and to hold to the same John Smythe and to his posteryte, with other due difference therin to be revested to his honour for ever. In wytnes hereof I the foreseyd Garter, Principal King of Armes as aboveseyd, hath signed these presents with [mine] own hand; and thereunto hath set the seal of my office; and also the seal of mine armes. Yeven at London the xii day of March, in the yere of our Lord God MV^{c}XLV, and in the XXXV yere of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King Henry VIII, by the grace of God King of England, France, and Ireland, Defendour of the Faith, and in erthe of the Church of England and Ireland Supreme Head.

CB. alias GARTIER.

Number III.

Sir Thomas Smith's orations for and against the Queen's marriage.

I. *Agamus or Wedspite's oration for the Queen's single life.*

E MSS. D. Richar. Gibbs, Eq. Aurat. et Rev. D. Johan. Laughton.

ALTHOUGH I know (saith he) that I speak now first at a great disadvantage, as to such as have their tongues at will, their wits fresh, and be so good confuters, as I have known them by experience in the Parliament House, that whatsoever I shall say, they can with words make that it shall appear quite overthrown and dashed in pieces; yet because I myself would gladly learn whether I be in a right opinion or no, and hear either my opinion weakened, or thother strengthened with good reasons, that I may by comparing thone with thother know my error, which I could never yet do, I am content to speak first. I pray you, that do note my opinion so strange, a while suspend your judgments of me, until you have heard all my reasons which moveth me to take this part.

First I say, that in this matter either we must have respect to God, to the Prince her self, or to the commonwealth; or rather to all these. For as for vain talk of the people, and the common opinion of every man in this our disputation, I think little regard to be had to them. For neither I speak in pulpit before all rascals that cometh, nor I do reason with such, as I must needs say as they say, or else hold my peace; but with them who will look to have no further credit to be given to their authority and mind, than just reason doth require. And therefore to Godwards ye must needs confess, that virginity is above matrimony, which Christ himself, being our Head, King, and Master, did follow. And St. Paul allowing both thone and thother, marriage I mean, and the sole life, yet preferreth the sole life far above matrimony. And I cannot

see that he maketh any distinction or difference, whether they be men or women, young or old, princes or subjects, rulers or private persons: but as in bondage or freedom, whether it be of men or women, young or old, he preferreth liberty, not excluding bondage from the Gospel: so doth he rather allow and exhort unto, and wish that men would choose and take hold of virginity and sole life, rather than marriage, with such *elogium* as would seem slanderous, if it were not of his speaking. *The virgin*, saith he, *and single man have care how they should pleuse God.* The married woman hath chosen infinite ways the worse person to be pleased, and the sole woman the better. Wherefore as I did say at the beginning, to define what is good and best for the Queen, if we shall try it by the best, truest, and more sure balance, that is to Godwards, St. Paul seemeth to be with me: and the example of Christ himself, and his most happy mother, St. John Baptist, and other the heads of our Christian religion, who ensued that kind of life as best and most acceptable to Godwards.

You see I do not bring you histories of certain Emperors and Empresses, Kings and Queens married, who, notwithstanding their marriage, yet lived continently, lest perhaps you should doubt of the truth of the history: or, if the history were true, yet of the perfection and sincerities of the persons: or whether therein they pleased God, although it liked them best. Nor yet I bring in that infinite number of names of virgins and widows, which at the very beginning of Christ's religion professed and kept chastity, as a thing whereby they thought most to please God, and made their choice of that as of the most godly life; lest peradventure with the evil example again of the Nuns, Monks, and Friars of our days, who likewise have as holily vowed, and yet so lewdly have and do keep the same, you should have occasion to derogate faith from all the rest, but sincerely and plainly, and of principles most certain, I have proved, that to God the best, most commendable,

and most allowable life of these two, is to be sole and chaste.

It is hard, ye will say, in that liberty, ease, and plenty of all things, which monarchy and princely state doth bring, to keep moderation; and much more to keep chastity. Marry, the harder the better, and as the Greek proverb is, *That which is laudable is hard to attain*, ye be all learned, and know Hesiod's verse; what is that that men may take up by heaps, and ease me by? and how strait and hard a path is left to creep to virtue? Wherefore when we speak of the goodness of a thing, or compare which of the two is better, the hardness is no objection, but rather a proof of the goodness thereof. And because I am yet in that part which is to Godward, why shall I go any further than Christ's saying, who willed us to enter in at the strait gate, where few go in, and to leave the easy way, where there be many gone, and going before, which bringeth eternal destruction? But I think this part enough proved, till I hear the contrary of you.

The next that I promised you to take in hand was, that to the Prince her self this is the best. First, either all the women in the world do wonderfully dissemble, or else bringing forth of children, (besides the often irksomeness, loathsomeness of meats, appetite of strange meats, morfew, and other such troubles that they have all the time from the conception to the childbirth,) they be in such danger of death as at no time men be more. For we see by common order, they are wont to take the Communion, to take their leave of the Church, and prepare themselves even to it as persons that were neither alive nor dead, but betwixt both. And all, I am sure, do not dissemble: for, I pray you, what number of women every hour, even in their travail, or shortly after, be dispatched, and sent from their childbed to their burial? not only poor folks' wives, in whom negligence or poverty might have some excuse, but Countesses, Duchesses, Empresses, and Queens. Farther examples we need not seek than the mother of our late

King Edward, Queen Jane, and of the Queen Dowager Katharine Parr. I can compare the danger of childbed to nothing more aptly than to a foughten battle, save that there is this difference, that in foughten battles, the Prince by thold examples, as one saith of Pyrrhus, provide for themselves out of the foreward and most danger: but in this, whatsoever estate they be, Queen or Empress, she must fight with death hand to hand: there is no champion to stand betwixt, or to bestride them when they are down, or to take the stroke into their bodies to defend them, as hath been done before this by faithful Esquires, to the safety of their Prince. And if the faithful friends of David, after he was at one time by chance in great hazard in a certain foughten battle, would not suffer him in person to come no more into battle, lest peradventure (as they said) the light of Israel should be quenched; how should I think, that I should have so much regard to the Queen's person as they had to David's, if I should not also wish and desire, yea, and counsel too, that her Grace should never enter into that danger and battle, wherein she her self, hand to hand, and without aid, must fight with death himself a more perilous fight than is any set battle. And if her Majesty be fruitful, (as there is no cause to think the contrary,) then if she escape one, she must within one year, or a little more, prepare for the next, and so still be within the danger of that extremity, which I do tremble to think upon. Well may I think, as a great learned man (although merrily) writeth, that unless God had given a certain notable quantity of foolishness and forgetfulness to all women, after once they had assayed the pains and travails and danger of childbirth, they would never company with men again. For although soldiers, who put their life to sale for money, do not fear to continue war and skirmishes, and will adventure, at the captain's commandment, hardily upon the spear-point to win or lose; and although some warlike princes, as Alexander and Julius Cæsar, thought themselves never so well, as when they had sowen one war upon another, and were courageously

in the field themselves; yet can it not be denied, but it had been more safety to their persons to have lived quietly and justly at home with their own, and made peace with their neighbours. Nor though they died at home amongst their friends, thone by surfeit, thother by conspiracy; yet can it not be understanded by the common intendment, but that they were in more danger in the battle: and so the success we must leave to destiny and God's judgments. What is by the common course of causes, thereof we may conclude, as far as natural reason and man's wisdom will go.

Wherefore in my mind, the Queen's Highness's person, by course of nature, being subject (as all mortal men's and women's be) to fevers, plurisies, to pestilence, to the sweat, and infinite other sorts of sicknesses and diseases, which the physicians can describe; from the which, whensoever it pleaseth God to send them, (as I pray God long to keep her from them,) no man's power can rescue her; methinks willingly and wittingly to bring in one other, which shall be as dangerous as any one, or all those, it is not the part of him that professeth a care of her Highness's person.

Hitherto I have spoken of her person but as touching the body, (nevertheless by her *person* I mean all such things as touch her privately; and although it is now hard to make a separation of this, but that which toucheth her person should also touch all the whole realm; yet because I speak amongst you, whom I know to be both learned and wise, ye will, I dare say, take what I mean by the order of my talk.) Let us grant that her Majesty doth marry, if he be a subject, then she should seem to disparage her self: for what shall she do other than that which is found fault with in certain Duchesses and Countesses, which have married with those which were their servants. If she marry a stranger, then must he needs by God's laws be her head, and where she was highest before, now she hath made one higher than her self. If she study to please him, then is she in subjection of him: if she mind not to please him, why should she then marry

him? and this is the best. But if there should arise any dissension betwixt her Majesty and her husband, and part-takings who should rule, as there hath been ere this in other countries; what a misery shall her Majesty bring her self unto from so great a felicity? to what a disquietness from so great a quietness? Now all dependeth upon her only will and pleasure; she only commandeth, and it is done; she saith the word, and every one obeyeth. Then is no grace to be looked for, but at her husband's hands only. Then there shall be two to sue unto, though not equal, yet such as each of other would not like well to have a nay: so that their requests one of another shall be as it were commandments of thone to thother: so that if the good and loving wife loath to displease her husband, and the loving husband his wife, when one of them shall ask and require of the other that which thother would not gladly do, if it be not done, who is displeased ye perceive; and if it be done, who is aggrieved ye see: and so much the more as thone desireth in his or her mind to have it done, thother in his or her mind that it should not be done; so much the more grief the granting doth bring to thone, and so much more hatred and displeasure the denying doth bring unto thother.

As for example sake, if King Philip desired most earnestly we should make war with the Frenchmen, and Queen Mary desired no less to live in quiet, and to have peace with them, (the husband and the wife in most contrary appetites,) the granting extremely grieved thone, the denial should as extremely have offended thother. Of the event what followed we know. But ye will say, this was when a foreign Prince did marry the Queen, who having war of his own with the Frenchmen, must needs desire his wife's country for love's sake to join with him: and this realm having wounds enough at home, had good cause to mislike war abroad. But if her Grace marry one of her own here at home, there shall be no such occasion, you will say, but their minds shall be all one; whom thone loveth thother loveth also, and whom the one mis-

liketh, so will thother also. This is wholly assured, if it were always so; but seeing never man was always in one mind himself continually, nor yet woman, but that which at one time we love, another time we hate; what we like being children, we mislike being men and women, and much more when we be old; how can we think that any man or woman may be always of one opinion, mind, judgment, or desire with another, where he is not so with himself?

Conveniet nulli, qui secum dissidet ipse,

saith the old verse. And what mischiefs those breaks may bring, we have too many examples both amongst the Grecians, Romans, and Barbarians.

And first, I will begin with the Goths; when they were lords over Rome and Italy, Amula Suinta, or, as some do write her, Amala Suenta, the daughter of King Theodoricus, King of Rome and all Italy, and so rightfully heir of that kingdom, to govern the realm the better, took to her husband Theodotus, a nobleman of the Goths; who belike afterwards dissenting with her in opinion of matters of the State, first found the means to exile her into a little island in a lake besides Vossinana in Italy, and afterwards there caused her to be most cruelly slain. Philip Viscount of Milan being at a very low ebb, by marriage of Beatrice, wife to Fantino Cane, had the lordships and seignories of Vercelli, Alexandria, Navarra, Cortana, four goodly cities, and a great number of riches: thereby he recovered again the state of Milan and Lombardy, which was before lost. This man, to recompense her kindness and all these benefits, within a short while after caused her to be convicted of adultery, and cruelly to be put to death. Jane the second Queen of Naples did otherwise. She took to husband Jaques Countie de la Nardy, of the French King's blood: with whom she indented, that he should be contented to be called Prince Tarento, and to leave to her not only the name, but also the government of the kingdom of Naples. This liked not he, or else his counsellors, and

so removed her from administration, and kept her almost as a prisoner. She, like a wise woman, feigned to rejoice thereat, and to bear it well, until such time as she had compassed all her device, and shut him clean out of Naples. For which cause, although he made war, yet was he fain, at the last, (willed he, nilled he,) to live as a man banished out of that realm.

I have read of many, being sole inheritors and princesses of many countries, which after took unto them husbands, who had no better success, though not all so evil. Even in our days, Queen Mary took King Philip to her husband, a noble Prince, wise, discreet, and fortunate. Yet many men think that thereby she lost the hearts of the most number of her subjects. And it is too manifest, that immediately upon it, in a very short space, an incredible number of her subjects were, by order of such law and justice as was used in those days, most cruelly put to death. And God for his part, whether offended that she so living sole, and as may be thought a virgin, did so suddenly choose to marry, or rather that she finding the light of the Gospel abroad in her realm, did what she could to extinguish it and put it out, did so punish the realm with quartan agues, and other such long and new sicknesses, that in the two last years of her reign, so many of her subjects were made away, what with the execution of the sword and fire, and what by sicknesses, that the third part of the men in England was consumed. Ye see I do pass over these things lightly, and do not amplify them as orators would: but I would have every piece rather to be weighed of you deeper, than that you should think that I should with words overlade the matter.

I come to the third, that is, what is best for the realm and her subjects. And surely in this matter, methinks, for many reasons, it is best as it is now. And here I will not over-slip this advantage: I pray you what fault is there to be found with the governance now? wherein do we lack, or want an husband for the Queen? Compare both Queen Mary's time, married, and the Queen's Highness's time

that now is, unmarried. Then was burning and hanging at home, wars and losing of strong holds abroad: most men discontent, except a few of her sect: with subsidies and loans, sicknesses and promoters, as well th'one as th'other, throughly vexed. War we saw and felt, and other mischief was feared: which, whether it was to come or no, few know. Now, for war we have peace; for fear, security. So, though even the Papists, although otherwise they lost for their stiffness, yet they be more sure of their lives now, by the clemency of the time, than they were then by the importune favour of the Prince. For scarcity, we have reasonable plenty; for brass-money, good silver; for servitude, liberty. What can a commonwealth desire more than peace, liberty, quietness, little taking of base money, few Parliaments, their coin amended, friendship with their neighbours, war with no man; either to follow the Gospel, or security of life, if they will be Papists? except, peradventure, we should seem to do as Æsop's frogs did, which, not content with the king which Jupiter gave them, knowing them to need none, were weary of their liberty, and would not rest till they had also the stork and hearn for their kings. From whom now, with all their cries these many thousand years, they cannot be delivered.

Well, yet for the wars, and such martial feats, it is most convenient to have a man who should govern abroad, take upon him the spear and shield, be there in presence himself; which is marvellous encouragement to the soldier, to fight in the sight of the Prince, where he thinks his reward shall be according to his deserts. "And," as a great warrior said, "I had rather have an army of harts, their gene-"ral being a lion, than an army of lions, their general "being an hart." First, I do not see that every prince maketh his war himself there in presence; nor that every one of them is that lion which they speak of. And if it be in a country where peace may be had, and the realm so well walled in as ours is by the sea, I cannot perceive but a good prince may do more good in well-ordering this commonwealth at home, than seeking more conquests abroad.

The Romans doubted whether Numa did less good to Rome, with keeping it in peace forty years, than Romulus the first founder did, with maintaining so many wars and conquests. And Augustus was rather a father of the country, when the civil wars ended, when he kept peace with all nations, and governed well the empire, than he himself was in his proscriptions, being Triumvir, or in his civil wars against Antonius; and did then more good to Rome, in shutting of Janus's temple, than did Julius Cæsar in his wars against the old Pompey, yea, or else in his long wars against France.

And have not Queens been warriors? What was Semiramis, and Zenobia, Maud the Empress, and the late Queen Margaret? Amula Suenta, that we spake of before, was reported to be the warrior in the victory which her unkind husband, Theodotus, got over Theobertus, King of Mettes, and the Burgundians and Almains; for her wisdom, not their manliness did it, as appears by his vile cowardliness after her death. But if Queens make peace, and keep the realm flourishing in good order and quiet, and overcome their own and their under-governors' affections, of robbing and oppressing the poor subjects, they make a greater and more commendable conquest than ever Sylla or Marius, Pompeius or Cæsar did, yea, or Carolus the last Emperor of Rome, in taking the French King, or winning Tunis and Goleta. And if wars should happen to come, why may not the Queen make and maintain her wars as well by a general of her appointing, sought out by her wisdom, as all other princes commonly do? And Plutarchus doth well note, that Augustus himself had small advantage in all wars, wherein he had the conduct himself, as himself also was in great danger; but those which he did manage by legates and generals, all did prosper well and fortunately with him.

But of wars we have spoken enough: wherein it is no more need that the Prince should be in presence, than it is that all the senate of Venice now, or the senate of Rome in times past, should always have been in presence and

person in their wars. For it is their wit and policy, their foreseeing and wisdom, as well in maintaining of the war, as in choosing of their captain, that obtaineth the victory. And I pray you, did not th'one conquer as much, and doth not th'other keep as well their conquest, as ever Alexander and his successors did? Then it may appear it is not the presence, but the wisdom of the Prince; the manly look, but the sober discretion; the beard, but the cheerful heart, that bringeth the victory, and keepeth the land conquested. And this, I say, may as well be in a Queen as in a King; in a wise and discreet lady unmarried, as in any husband she shall take unto her.

One thing must I needs say: if it be chargeable for a realm to maintain one Prince or King, it must needs be more chargeable for a realm to maintain two: if they cry out of the takers for the taking of one house or train, for two they shall have more cause. And do you think that whensoever the Queen's Majesty shall take an husband, the Court can be unaugmented? I am sure reason, order, and experience sheweth the contrary. Well, if the greater train bring the more expenses, the more officers do require the more charge, the greater family doth consume the larger provision of victuals. And if the realm, as reason it is, must bear all these, and yet all things done as well now as it shall be then, I cannot but conclude, even of husbanding, but as good husbands do, that the affairs of the realm being as well done th'one way as th'other, the best cheap must appear the best way; which is, as ye see, that the Queen's Majesty should remain as she doth now, still sole and unmarried, neither entangle herself with a husband, either strange, or born in the realm.

I have now passed over my three parts, not so fully as one of you would do, who have their tongues and wits so ready, so fine, and so eloquent. But, after my rude and homely manner, I have declared unto you that simple sole life and virginity doth please God better, and is better esteemed, and an higher virtue than marriage: and as it is more heroical, more comely for a Queen, which is a

Monarch, and a sovereign Prince born. I have also proved, that for her person, it is most sure, and less dangerous; for her mind, more quiet, and less doubtful: and lastly, you see I lack no reasons to shew, that it is better and more commodious for the realm. Why then should this opinion be counted either wicked, or strange, or unreasonable?

And with this he held his peace, and none of the other were hasty to answer. Whether it were, because they did meditate and record with themselves what he had said, or what and how they should confute him or no, I know not; but, I perceive, that they looked not for such an oration. At the last, the fourth brake silence; who, save that he would gladly have the Queen's Majesty marry, for the rest he was indifferent. And he (as you know, if I should tell you his name) hath not his tongue ready, for he stuttereth, stammereth, and, if he be moved, uneath he can bring forth a right word. And commonly those men be of the greatest heart and courage, and testy with it, as the Greeks call them. It appeared that he was moved with this oration; for with much ado he brought out his words. The effect whereof was this. Marry, quoth he, this is a tale indeed, and arguments well picked out. You may well be called Mr. Agamus, or Misogamos, surnamed in right English, Wedspite, or Spitewed; for I never heard man speak so despitefully against wedding and marriage of the Queen's Majesty in my life. I think you be one of St. Francis or St. Benet's scholars. I would to God my tongue would serve me but half so well as yours, I would ask no help to answer you: but now, seeing my tongue will not follow, I shall desire these two to take my part; who, although within themselves they be not of one opinion, yet with me, against you, they agree. And seeing they can do it well enough, my stuttering and stammering should be but superfluous.

Then (quod the one of the other) if you be so ready to christen and name the child, belike, as soon as I have

told the tale, you will be my godfather, and give me a name. Nay, saith he, I can name you already; for you love aliens and strangers so well, and praise so well all countries and countrymen, save England and Englishmen, that it is pity you were not born somewhere else: and I think you be, or should be, some Welshman, and named Lewelyn, as one would say, Lovealien, or in Greek, Φιλόξενος. Well, said he, and laughed, you do not well thus to nickname and provoke me to be angry with you, when you pray me for to speak for you. It is happy your tongue serveth you no better, and that God hath sent a shrewd cow short horns. None of us should escape you, if your tongue were as good as your heart: but yet I would it would have served you now; it should have eased me well in confuting his tale, whom you have now christened Mr. Agamus, or Wedspite. Which tale was after such a sort (I must confess unto you) as I looked not for. But yet I trust it may be answered; and thereto, if you give me a while patient ears, I will endeavour myself with a good will.

II. *Philoxenus, or Lovealien, his Oration for the Queen's marrying.*

IT shall not be amiss to begin, saith he, now, Mr. Agamus, (for it is like to be your name at this time,) where you began; which, as methought, was pretty and philosophical. Yet must I repeat the matter somewhat higher. Two things being appointed to be had in election, if the one be honest, th'other dishonest, the election is easy to him that preferreth virtue and honesty to all other things, although the dishonest be more profitable or more pleasant ten thousand fold: for always that which is honest and godly is to be taken. And yet possibly this election would not be so taken of every man, as hath appeared in them that have made war to their country, proscription of their citizens, and have exercised a thousand tyrannies, for ambition, profit, or pleasures sake; preferring the dishonest

things, because they were profitable or pleasant, before honesty. But where the things propounded be both equal, for that part there the election standeth in their degrees; as if things of themselves may be honest and godly, and the contraries thereof may also so be, and the one and the other may be used; there the circumstances do alter the matter: as peace and war, punishment and forgiveness, eating and abstinence, marriage and sole life, both not only permitted, but allowed of God. And according to the circumstance of time and place, person and occasion, sometime th'one better, sometime th'other. And herein I think we do not vary; although you seem in your tale to make them both virtues, I mean virginity and marriage. Which, I think, you did, after the common manner of speaking, rather than the true manner of understanding; for a right virtue cannot be abused: either of these may be abused, and increase damnation. But as things indifferent, eating and drinking, reasoning and disputing, ruling and obeying, sleeping and waking, earnest and play, so these take of their circumstances, as I said before, of place, time, and person, cause, occasion or necessity, to make them good or bad.

Wherefore this is not so simply to be granted unto you, that sole life is the better, no, though it be the harder; but according as the circumstances be. Who, that should begin, being a private person, to bring in a new sect or religion to reform all the state and order of that which hath been taught before; not with power, but persuasion; not with sword, but with miracle; not with violence, but with patience; not with war, but with fleeing, when he is persecuted, from one place to another; to him it is necessary, and to all them that shall follow that kind of policy, to be disburthened of care for his wife, of charge for his children, of the negligence of servants, of hearkening to accounts, of saving of his stock, and of all such things as marriage necessarily doth bring to the private or public person, whosoever he be, that is not altogether without that affection which is most natural, the which they that lack are

called Ἀπαθεῖς. Then to Christ, then to St. Paul, then to all them who at the first time, as it were the sowing-time of Christian religion, were the tillmen of the Gospel, ye see it was most necessary, yea, in a manner, it could not well otherwise be done, but that they should be sole and unmarried. That which was in their persons and at that time best, whether it be now and in the Queen's person best, may justly be a great doubt. I cannot see but that Abraham, having the seed promised him, wherein all nations should be blessed, was as holy in knowing Sarah, as Elias, who was ravished into heaven in his virginity, if no other difference were but that; nor why Manue, [Manoah,] to whom Sampson was promised, who should be the deliverer of Israel, did not as well therein, as Elizæus in keeping himself sole, who the prophet said should slay all them that Jehu left.

Now, let th'one be simply better than th'other, virginity than marriage; which it seemeth can hardly be gathered of St. Paul; for he praiseth virginity as better, not for itself, nor in itself, but for having less let and trouble than hath marriage; so that if a marriage have less let and trouble, the virginity more, then he preferreth marriage. Wherein it may appear, that it is not (as I said) so better, as virtue is better than vice, nor as gold than silver, nor scarcely as the fine than the base; but let it be as both in one kind of nature, but the one as fine gold, the more to be esteemed, th'other as base, the less; yet where the baser weigheth ten pound, and the finer but one ounce, there must needs the base in kind be better indeed, the coarser in nature of such things be more excellent in use and necessity. Peradventure, to a student, a priest, a man of war, and a merchant-adventurer, the first were best, because care of household and family should happily much disturb them of their studies; the other, because they are always in danger and absent from home, it were best for them to live a sole life. But for a Prince, upon whose quiet succession a great part of the commonwealth doth hang, whose family is the root and foundation of inward peace within the realm,

to live sole is to be an author of such mischief, as no man can wish to a realm a greater. And who would say then, that to a Prince it is simply better to live sole than to marry. To kill the Prince, who is the King's eldest son, is worthily made high treason: what is it then, not to kill one, but all; yea, and not that, but the hope of all?

And you, Mr. Agamus, open your lips to praise virginity, or sole life, in our Queen; whose daughter, much more son, or a Prince, if God should send one, as I trust God (if it shall please her Highness to marry) shortly would send a Prince, if you should once wish dead, all men might justly abhor you to the death. What could you wish more, if Domitian or Nero, if Maximine or C. Caligula did reign over us, than that which the soldiers did say when they slew their children, *Ex malo genere ne catulum quidem relinquendum?* And because you come with what is good to God-ward, and you take your sure rule, *that which pleaseth God is best*, I pray you, what is the promise that he maketh to David? *If thy sons walk before me*, saith he, *in truth, with all their hearts, thou shalt not want one, who shall come out of thy loins, to sit upon the throne of Israel.* And to Jehu, for the zealous revenge of Ahab's iniquity, that his sons should sit upon the throne of Israel, to the fourth generation. Again, what threateneth he to Saul for his rebellion, other than that the kingdom should be translated from him, and his sons should not reign after him? To Jeroboam, to Baasa, and Achab, for their idolatry and wickedness, but that he would not leave of their posterity one to piss against the wall? So that it may appear a blessing of God, a token of faith in God, and good favour of God towards Princes, when he sendeth them of their own seed to reign after them: as the contrary, of disfavour and discontentment of God toward them, when he cutteth off their generation, and leaveth them without posterity and issue of their bodies to reign after them. Then, if it be a blessing to Princes to have children to inherit after them, which sheweth the favour of God, it is a curse to have no posterity, or the pos-

terity cut off, which sheweth the disfavour of God, as appeareth most manifestly by these examples of Scripture: and sole life bringeth the curse, and want of posterity; and no other thing can bring the blessing of lawful children but matrimony. Why then may not I conclude, by this judgment of Scripture, that matrimony in a Prince is that good to be allowed, and that sole life is that evil to be eschewed?

And what hath the Queen's Majesty deserved at your hands, I pray you, that you had rather she had the curse which fell upon Saul, Hieroboam, Baaza, and Achab, than the blessing which David had and Abraham?

Now the second part, Mr. Agamus, was so well handled, and so finely you entered into your matter, and so well you shadowed it with your histories and examples of such things as have been done before, that I assure you, if I had not taken a good triacle before, and tied myself to my mast, as Ulysses did to pass by Syrenes, I had been caught, as a fish, with a hook, and ye had led me by the ears whither you had would. Now, marking it well, and not swallowing up the bait, I am able to unwind myself that same way I was brought in. You put us first into a great fear of the Queen's Majesty's person; of which what good English heart is there which will not have care? Then ye amplified great dangers and disquietness, exaggerated great cares, thoughts and griefs of her Highness's mind. From all which, as well of body and soul, you found but one only refuge, and as it were a sanctuary, of virginity and sole life, as my friend here, my godfather, saith. This fancy came out of the school of monkery, who, when they did see the dangers and infinite occasions of pleasure, displeasure, honour, ambition, contempt, riches, poverty, and all other such things as did vex them, when they remained abroad and in the commonwealth, which was able to bring them from the true trade of virtue, and to bring them unto vice, and peradventure had once or twice done so already, whereby they knew themselves the better of what metal they were made; and then saw nothing of monks and

friars but their holy coat, their becks and their ducks, and their religious words, they thought that there was none other way to heaven, but to run into their cloisters; where they thought they were so sure, and the gates so well kept, that there could no vice get in. And when they were there, as fast locked in as th'other, they found themselves so well eased, as the fish that leaped out of the fryingpan into the burning coals; or as they that be sea-sick, when they come out of the great ship into the little cockboat, I wis their choler goeth with them, and till they come a-land, they find small ease in the change.

Ye make a marvellous matter of danger in women's bearing of children, which ye exaggerated so much, that when I heard, I began to tremble with myself; as to take their leave of the Church, to prepare for present death, to fight hand to hand with death without a custrel, or any esquire, to be in more danger than in a foughten field, where trumpets blow, the clarions sound, the guns thunder, the noise of the strokes, the clashing of armour, the clattering of harness, the braying of the horses, the groaning of men dying, and the gasping of the dead, reacheth almost to heaven. I thought I had been at the battle of Muskleborough or Agincourt. But when I looked again, and saw so many fair ladies, so goodly gentlewomen, so fine and so trim maids, pass these pikes so well, not once only, but twice, thrice, yea sometimes twenty times; so easily, so merrily, so quietly, in their fine beds of down, their chambers hanged with arras, their curtains and coverings of silk, their pillows and cushions embroidered with gold and silver work, their warming-pans, their perfuming-pans, and all such things so trick and trim about them; and they after it look so fair and ruddy, and so beautiful, that it would make any man in the world enamoured of them: and when I marked further what haste they made to go to the battle again, I began to laugh at myself, and thought that the fear in which you put me was with a vizor only, which you had taken upon you, and so made me afraid, as children be afraid of bearbugs and bullbeg-

gars. Why? is not the bearing of children painful? is not that dangerous? say you. Ask not that of me, but of them who be never well till their panniers be full, which they are sure they cannot empty till they come to this terrible battle that ye speak of.

Let us see if any of them will leave and take truce any longer than their month, or time of churching, cometh out: which month some of them think it so long of four weeks, that they end it most commonly at three weeks, because they might the sooner come to such another of these conflicts: so much they be afraid of it. It was my chance to be at dinner with the Countess of Ormond, with whom Sir Francis Brian married: at which time she being merrily disposed, among other communications that ladies and gentlewomen had of this matter, she said she had now borne (as I remember) ten children; and she was brought to bed, not so nicely as the ladies and gentlewomen be here, but either in a tent or a wide barn, after the manner of her country, Ireland. "And I tell you," said she, "I "felt in a manner no pain at all these births: nor I see no "cause why I should make so nice of the matter as you "do here in England: we do not so in our country." Whereat an old lady was wonderfully offended, and said they were beasts, and she was but a beast to say so. Then she, as a witty lady, turned the matter, and said, "it was "a gift which St. Patrick begged for her country-folk, the "Irish women, of our Lady." But the truth is, all women that stir about to travail and to labour, as they do there, and do not use themselves to rest and ease, as they can better away with travail because of use, so they bear that travail of childbirth with much more ease, and in manner with no pain. Which we do see also in these idle runagates Egyptians, whose women be always trudging from place to place as they be, and be brought to bed in the straw, in some barn or out-house, without any great curiosity; and within three or four days after, yea, sometimes the second day, they ride away with the rest of that beggarly train.

I remember I read, when I was a boy, in Aristotle, and I trow it be in his Politics, he would that those that should make laws for a commonwealth should have regard also to women that were great with child, that they should not use themselves to over-fine diet, nor to over-much rest. Which, saith he, may be done, if they do appoint them certain pilgrimages to be done to such gods as have the honour of such matters: meaning such gods as the Gentiles did sacrifice unto for such things, as Gemini, Lucina, Parcæ, Juno, &c. His purpose is, that when the time of birth draweth nigh, they should by gentle means be brought to a kind of exercise and travail, either on horseback, or on foot, or both; to the intent that they might the easilier bear the travail of childbirth: and thought that they could by no means so well be persuaded unto them, which then be somewhat heavy, because of their burden, as by colour of holiness and religion. So that our pilgrimages also, which we had of late years, was not much out of the way for such an effect, as may appear.

But I tarry long about these matters. To bear children is painful I do not deny: it is the threat of God to Eve and to all her posterity, as well as to Adam and all men to get his living with the sweat of his brows: and yet some men sweat but easily. And why should not I think also that her Highness should bring forth her children more easily than a great sort of other women. I see nothing leadeth me to the contrary. Many things do encourage me to think so: her learning, discretion, judgment, her store of physicians, and of all things necessary for them to use. That where other by their folly do make that travail to them more painful and dangerous than naturally it should be, her Highness, by her noble virtues and wisdom, should make it more easy, yea, than of natural course it should be. For as there be ways to augment, so there be ways to diminish pain or grief; wherein standeth the difference of wisdom or folly. But why do I stand upon this? Would not her Majesty be glad, think you, to take some pain to make a Prince? to make one who should be a

part of her? who should make her alive after her death, reign in her stead, when by course of nature she can tarry no longer? who shall continue and transplant her name and posterity for many an hundred years here Kings in England, and leave such a row of that race, as is the root of Jesse? Was it not you of whom I heard even now, that all fair and laudable things be painful to come by? Will you not grant unto me, that this which I speak of now, to have a Prince born of her own body, who should reign after her Highness here in England, in whom she might see her own image, not painted in a table, but lively expressed, every joint, yea, both body and soul; who should call her Highness Queen-Mother, and whom all England should call King and father? Whom, if you do not think more to be esteemed than all the treasure that the wise and rich Prince, her grandfather, King Henry VII. left at his death, or that the noble and magnificent Prince, her father, King Henry VIII. spent in his life, ye are in a contrary opinion to all Englishmen. Whom when she shall behold, kiss, and embrace, she shall take more comfort and more pleasure in, than of all the riches and jewels which her Highness had, or ever was lady of.

Do you not think, I say, such a jewel worthy to have the pains taken, for the getting of it, and bringing it to life? Are you he that was even now so stout, that if the thing were good, laudable, and necessary to be had, the harder it were to obtain, the more you thought it were to be laboured for? And so you counselled and proved by many reasons and authorities. Are you, I say, now again so weak and so womanly hearted, that for a little pains in the birth, peradventure of one hour or two, or, at the most, of one day, (for the extremity of the pain cannot lightly be longer,) will counsel us to cast down our courage, and run away like cowards, and leave all this so rich and so precious a treasure ungotten and unlaboured for, for the travail of one hour? I wis Boulogne cost more the getting, and Calais the losing: and yet this treasure were more worth than both those holds to her Majesty, I dare say,

and unto the realm of England, if it should be esteemed by true value.

Marry, yet ye go nearer me, and bring in certain Queens who have died in childbirth. And herein you had good advantage to have two examples so near, and in so fresh memory, that they must needs make much indeed to the terror of mischance. And yet this is but another startbug that you have gotten to make us afraid. It is since the conquest five hundred years, little under or over: in which time our chronicles have indifferently well been kept, and many Kings and Queens have died, and all not after one sort. I pray you, how many more have you read of that have died in childbed? And yet one of those was not the Queen, but dowager, as you know well enough. And some men would say it was thought that that did distress her then, and bring her to her end, as much as travail of the birth. But of that I will not dispute. But if in five hundred years, in which space so many Queens have had so many children, and only one or two have died in childbed, would you make this so great a fear? What act or doing is there, but men and women have died in it? Many of fevers, more of surfeits, some of cold, some of over-much heat, a great number of sorrow, not a few of gladness, some in talking, some in sneezing, some in gasping, some ailing nothing, but making them ready in the morning. What would you make of this, but that death is ready at all times and hours to us that are mortal.

King Henry the First, who for his surname was called *The fair Clerk*, or learned man, died of eating of a lamprey; his Prince and eldest son, and his fair daughter, were both drowned in the sea. What, shall never King eat lampreys again? nor the daughters nor sons of Kings come in ships or boats for that cause? How often do you see that they shun it for all that, except the weather be tempestuous? King William Rufus was slain with an arrow in hunting: shall Kings therefore give over all pastime, or let no man bear bows while they be in hunting? How many do you see yearly drowned in the Thames?

and who forsaketh, notwithstanding, to row in a barge or wherry? How many thousand of children be born every day, in one place or other? how many hundreds, think you, in the city of London, and in the shire of Essex, in a month? and if two die in a year in childbed, it is a great marvel; and yet even they commonly die of some fear, or some fright, or some ague, or some other cause, than the very birth going before. So that it is not ten, but a hundred or a thousand to one, that the woman shall escape, who travaileth with child. And yet they do not amiss to commit themselves to God, and to require his aid at all such good and natural works: and they have the more comfort, as I think, when they be in pain. But to make this so perilous a case, and so fearful a matter, and so dangerous a battle, I do assure you I see no cause.

And because you reckoned up so many diseases whereunto natural men and women be subject, and therefore you would be loath this also should be added, you shall see how much contrary I am to you. I think that bringing forth of children doth not only preserve women from many diseases, and other inconveniences, but it doth also clear their bodies, amend the colour, prolong their youth. If I should bring unto you th'authority and reasons of physic therefore, although it be easy to do, yet would you ask me, who the devil made me a physician? and you would say you had no leisure to look over and try those books, which you may easily look, and see the conclusion. Mark in the Court, and in all other places where ye go: look what ladies and gentlewomen be most fruitful, and have most children, if they look not for their age most youngly, best coloured, and be clearest from diseases. Mark again them which be unfruitful, after they pass once forty or forty-five years, and toward fifty, if they look not withered, yea, either red or tawny coloured, and older than they be by a great way. I could bring you ready examples not far hence, where be three sisters married: theldest hath ten or twelve children, the middlemost but one or two, and the youngest had never a one, who being best kept,

and most at ease; yet theldest sister, being ten years elder, looketh twenty years younger than the youngest; and the middlemost, according to the rate of her children. And I could name enough to you in the Court, and in London, and whensoever you will I will shew you them.

But I would have you, Mr. Agamus, to mark this that I say; and if you find my sayings true, then never be in that heresy that you be in; but rather think, that for the Queen's Majesty's own person, and the preservation of her body, health, colour, beauty, grace, and youth, it is an hundred times better for her Highness to marry, and to have children, than to live sole.

Now let us come to the grief of mind; for this was another piece whereby ye crept so into us, that no husband pleased you, neither stranger nor English, neither whom her Highness would please, nor whom she would not please. And ye thought there would be no long agreement; seeing no man nor woman doth always agree with himself, much less he can agree with another. And hereupon ye builded your marvellous forces and castles; what inconveniences come with disagreements, what grief of the granting, what hatred of the denying, what danger of the dissension. And you helped yourself stoutly with the histories of Queens and noblewomen, who have been greatly troubled, vexed, and brought to extremities by those means. I will venture with you where you begun, and there join with you where you think yourself strongest. Can never man agree long with himself? Marry, so much the better, say I. We do not think all one of things when we be children, and when we be men; nor when we be young men, and when we be old. Marry, we be the wiser; for as wisdom cometh, error goeth away: folly and wisdom cannot agree. That which to childishness and folly of youth appeareth good, to gray age appeareth lightness, and nothing worth. Were it not better that this dissension and debate in ourselves were at the first; but that God would so train us up, that we might see how we did profit? Have we not, after a little wisdom cometh

to us, this debate in ourselves every day? The appetite draweth one way, and reason another; th'one would run at random, th'other holdeth back. What do good fathers to their children, but provide for them a dissenter, a schoolmaster, who should, by godly persuasion, yea, and sometimes rebukes, keep them from that which they most desire? Doth not two eyes see better than one? Do not the contrary opinions declared open the better the truth? Why doth else the judge hear both parties before he give sentence? And wherefore be counsellors, but because they be not always of the same affection that the Prince is? and by this dissenting is the best way found out. For even as when in a heap of sand or mould there is espied a bright thing like metal, by sifting of it and washing it, will come to a nearer guess, and, by farther travail, be tried whether it be gold or no: so when a thing glistereth and appeareth gay, the same being sifted in consultation among divers judgments, at the last doth so come to the strong water or ramentation, or to the test, till it appeareth in his clearness how it is to be reputed: or else copper may sometimes be taken for gold; and a vain thing, that will consume like brimstone, may be praised for good metal. And I pray you, who shall more carefully look to, or more faithfully counsel, or be more circumspectly fearful, for the managing of her Highness's affairs, than an husband should do? Or who can more amiably, more frankly, more certainly, or more secretly confer with her Majesty for th'execution of them, than he can do, whose heart and body, by the law of God, and by the law of natural love, is knit to her Highness in a most sure knot?

And if they should dissent in opinion, doth every such dissenting make war? then where should consultation become? Methinks in this matter we four do but little agree amongst ourselves; and yet I trust we be friends, and shall be still. Where wise persons dissent one from another, by their having opportunity one to confer with the other, the truth appeareth, and the best way is chosen: which is far from the mischief you speak of. But you

went so far, that you would scarcely grant that her Majesty should love her husband. What if the Queen's Highness do willingly please and gladly gratify him, is he by and by her superior? That that is an hard work I dare say her Highness will sometime do for some of her privy chamber, yea and other also which require things of her Grace, when else her Majesty had rather bestow them some other way. Will you call this subjection? I assure you that is too precise a calling, and far from all common manner of speaking or thinking. So far you do overreach with coveting to make your matter good.

What is the marring of all evil princes, what is the undoing of all empires, but because they have so many flatterers, that will say as they say; and so few counsellors that will dissent, and tell them the truth? Happy is that prince that hath so wise a counsellor, that can see that is best; but more happy is he that hath one so bold that dares to tell it to him, and so beloved of him, that he will hear it at his hands, and bear it well: for every man else saith as they say; every man praiseth that they like. What they affirm, that is true, be it never so false; what they like not, that is evil, be it ever so good. Every man praiseth their virtues; no man telleth them their faults: yea, they make their faults virtues, and will covet to follow them. So that a prince of himself had need to be very good, just, temperate, and well inclined to favour virtue, and punish vice; or else he shall be wonderfully led out of the way by the flattering of his counsellors, and all other his subjects; who will rather follow him in the wrong way, than once to move him to turn again, and to take the right. And, which is the worst, the prince seeth but with their eyes, and heareth but with their ears: for he cannot hear nor see the particularity of things himself, but as they bring it unto him with whom he is conversant. What did I say? see with their eyes, and hear with their ears? Nay, if he did so, it were better: that is, if they would bring to the prince just as they see and hear. But

now he seeth not as they see, but as they will tell him that they saw; nor as they heard, but as they will tell him that they heard. So that if they be not wonderfully affected to the truth and to the commonwealth, (as for the most part few such as be about princes be, but rather affected to their own kindred, commodity, lucre, and advancement,) then must it needs be, that the prince doth see many times the black white, and the white black. Wherein the prince is not in the fault, but the reporter to the prince.

In this ill fortune which all Princes have necessarily, and most of all Queens, (as naturally the woman is the less strayer abroad than the man, and therefore can the less hear or see by herself,) what better remedy can there be than an husband, who can go abroad oftener, because he is a man, and see and hear things truly, because he goeth abroad; bring home the misreports, because he loveth the Queen, the bolder to tell it, because she loveth him; be more earnest for her Highness's wealth and well-doing, because his honour, joy, and felicity lieth upon it; be most careful of any misdoing or misgoverning, because his destruction and danger lieth thereon? For as he said to his son, Though thou hast many lovers and friends, yet thou hast but one father, (and indeed a man shall not find one more that hath the true fatherly affection, but only his own father;) so may I say, though a Queen may find many counsellors and well-willers and faithful subjects, yet can she have but one husband; nor none other that can have so perfect, so sincere, and so true affection to her Highness's person and affairs. For none indeed hath such cause as her husband hath. The knot of dearness and love is such, that it uniteth as it were flesh and blood. Insomuch that it surmounteth the piety and reverent love that the father and the son, the mother and the son hath one to another. For this saith God himself, *A man shall leave both father and mother, and shall cleave unto his wife:* so near, and so just, and with so vehement affec-

tion, that they shall be but one body and mind. Which affection none knoweth but such as have been entangled with the same knot.

And yet daily th'experience thereof is seen. What doth the warrior, when he willingly ventureth his blood to be shed; the merchant, when he forsaketh not the raging seas; the lawyer with his watching in the night, and crying in the day till he be hoarse; the carpenter, the tailor, yea, the ploughman, with all their occupations, with their labour, toil, watch, hard fare, and sparing; but only to get and bring home for their wives and children? Look on these lusty young men, who having a sword and buckler, and a good gelding, and some money in their purse, do think themselves in heaven; and study upon nothing but when they may meet to sing, dance, and make good cheer. After one of them hath been married a while, all that is gone with him, and he looketh where he may get, and spieth where he may save: he despiseth all the lusty company, and studieth how to furnish his house at home, and to bring to pass that his wife and children should not lack. This care should not come, if love went not before: this affection he knew not, till he felt the knot. And now it is so sweet that he forsakes his singing, dancing, his making of good cheer, and all his other jollities, pleasures, and pastimes, to make much of his wife and children, and to provide that they should not want any thing that should be to them necessary: yea, and not that only. For when that is done, he will not leave, if he can, to labour, toil, study, travail all his lifetime, till age driveth him from it, only that he might leave them in better estate, than he himself was at the first. He laboureth, that they might have ease; he watcheth, that they might rest; he spareth, that they might have plenty; he defraudeth himself, and punisheth his own belly, that they might have enough to spend; and when they have spent, somewhat to leave. Now if any injury should be offered to his wife and children, who is so out of patience as the husband? He chafes, he fumes, he prepareth himself im-

mediately to revenge. And if the enemies come, or the war be menaced, first he provideth that his wife and children be conveyed into safety: then he himself maketh him ready to meet his enemy: he offereth his body to the stroke, his blood to be poured out, his life to be taken from him, rather than they shall have one finger hurt.

And this so natural, so common, so done of all men, that it is no news, it is no wonder: no man marvelleth at it, for it is seen every day. Even the wild beasts will do as much to defend their mates; fight to the death with the hunter, to keep him from the den where his female and his whelps do lie.

And here you bring in Theodotus, husband to Amala Suenta, from Rome; Philip Viscount, from Milan in Lombardy; Jaques de la Nardie, Queen Jane's husband, from Naples. They were monsters of mankind, examples of unkindness, spectacles of devilish cruelty: of which yet not one of them escaped unrevenged. And what? will ye make a general rule of this? So shall ye extinct and deface all natural affection, all order of love, all course of kindness. So may you bring in Nero, that killed his mother, because she seemed to mislike some of his vices: Selimus, that killed his father, because he thought he kept the kingdom of the Turks too long from him: Medea, that killed her own children in despite of her husband: Cataline, that killed his own son, because a rich widow would not else marry him: Bassianus, that killed his brother Geta, because he would rule alone: and all the rabblement of father-killers and mother-killers, son-killers and daughter-killers, the murderers of their brethren and sisters, their masters and their chief friends: and prove that there is no love nor trust in father or mother, son nor daughter, brother nor sister, kit nor kin, even Tymon's sect. And very much better did Christ reason with Simon the Pharisee. *He whom more is forgiven*, saith he, *more doth love*. As who would say, He that hath more kindness shewed him, as the benefit is greater, so is his love more affectionate to him or her of whom he received it.

Which if it be true, who then can have a more affection, a greater love, and earnester care, and a ferventer dearness of mind towards the Queen, than he whom she chooseth above all men, whom she preferreth to all the rest, to whom she giveth all that ever she hath, and herself also; yea, whom she maketh herself: in that by this knot they be both but one body. Can this man ever hate her? can he speak evil of her? or can he suffer that the least tittle in the world should grieve her mind? Sooner will he abide any pain, any grief any torment himself: for what can be a greater grief or painful disease to him, than that she, of whom he received so unspeakable a benefit, should perceive in him the least spot of unkindness? except he be a wild beast in a man's likeness, a devil and a monster of mankind, as Nero was, and these whom ye named; of whom ye have found out three since the world began. And I think you shall not, though you search never so near, find out so many more.

The comfort, the ease of mind, the pleasure, the contentation that her Majesty shall have of a loving husband, is unable with words to be declared; and no man or woman can believe it till they have proved it. Whereof what greater argument can there be than this, that of so many thousand as be married, you shall not see among five hundred one which once hath been married, men or women, I say, that when by misfortune one of the couple dieth, will abide sole without wedding again. They think in the mean space their houses naked, their table without comfort, their bed without joy, themselves half maimed, and to lack in all purposes one of their things most necessary, and, as Aristophanes saith in Plato, indeed they feel that the one half of themselves all the while is away.

This far to the first two points of your oration. Now I come to the third and last point, wherein ye disputed what were best for the commonwealth, and for the whole realm. And here methought you began to handle us very ungently. Ye asked us what fault we find with the government now? and wherein we do lack a man or hus-

band to the Queen? To the first if we should answer, ye would bring us in a displeasure with the Council, as though we disliked their doings. To the second if we should, we might seem to note the Queen's Majesty as insufficient to rule her realm. Pretty straits ye have devised to make us hold our peace. But this will not make us agree to your opinion. What lack we? say you: marry, even that which you know yourself; for you were present, and a goer with them yourself; the whole Parliament lacked you know what well enough. What was their suit to her Majesty, I pray you? what required they by the mouth of our Speaker? Were they then of your opinion, or of mine, touching that matter? Why did not you declare so much in the Parliament, before they went to make their petition to her Highness, as ye have done here? Ye might have stayed them peradventure, that they should not with such humble and earnest requests have moved her Majesty, to have compassion upon her poor realm, and to think upon marriage, wherein we might see some speedy hope of succession from her Highness. But you durst not; you saw so many, even all men bent to the contrary; and you know well enough you should not escape unanswered at the full. And possibly you were not of that opinion at that time. But now you be: well, if you be so now, to all other reasons I have answered; to the rest this I have to say.

If in all such kind of reasons, whether a thing is better to be done or no, the authority and judgment of wise, sober, and discreet men ought to have greatest weight, I can bring in the authority of the greatest, wisest, sagest, gravest, best learned, and expert men in th'affairs of the realm, and maintaining of the commonwealth, as you yourself can witness, which were against your opinion at that time, and on my side. And if you, like a philosopher, will not suffer me to use authority, I will not fly your reasons, but as I began, I will answer still as I have done. And ye compare Queen Mary's time to this, and make this time so much better than the other as you list your-

self, wherein I will not strive with you, you shall find me so good a fellow yet, as Crœsus said to Cambyses, who would needs be better esteemed than his father, the wise and great conqueror Cyrus, he could not be so good as his father was, for so much as Cyrus had left such a son to rule after him as Cambyses' servants told him he was, and Cambyses thought himself to be. But Cambyses himself had not yet gotten any child. This fable of Crœsus, as Herodotus saith, so tickled Cambyses, that he escaped thereby, and told the truth. Why, say you, no more had Queen Mary any child. Marry, sir, I do not compare the Queen's Highness to Queen Mary: but yet I will say, that Queen Mary did what lay in her more for that purpose than Queen Elizabeth doth. And I would she would as well in that as in all other things pass Queen Mary. If all be well now, as you say it is: we have peace, we have plenty, we have quiet at home, friendship abroad: what should we desire more?

As we have great cause to give Almighty God thanks for it, and to rejoice and congratulate with the Queen's Highness for that; so have we the more cause to fear, the greater occasion to foresee, the juster warning to provide, that this estate might continue: except we shall be no wiser than the grasshoppers; to whom, because they did not provide in summer wherewithal to live, but applied all their time to singing and dancing, the ants did say, when winter came and their need appeared, that they must weep and repent then without remedy. We all rejoice in the Queen's Highness, and have great cause. God prospereth all things in her Highness's hands above all expectation, and almost more than we can desire. Because the weather is so fair, shall we not look for a storm? Because this is a summer, shall we think that winter will never come? If we do see only that is present; if we have no regard what shall come after; if we had no consideration as well for our posterities as for ourselves, we are not worthy to be called men, but beasts: who whether of reason or no, I know not; but certainly, of a certain

instinct of nature, seem to have a care, and hoard up store for the time to come. Wherefore if we have cause to like in her Majesty those princely and heroical gifts which nature hath bestowed on her Highness; that goodly personage and stature resembling her father, so noble a Prince, and so well beloved to the realm; if her beauty doth not only please us, but bring all other in admiration that see her; if the excellency of wit, the great understanding, that knowledge of so many tongues, the dexterity of entertaining, and the gravity in communication, and all other the princely and heroical virtues, which be so clear and resplendent in her Majesty, do ravish us in admiration of her Highness, except we should do as the grasshoppers do, content ourselves with the time present, and look no farther, what can we do but wish, pray, desire, and long for the propagation and continuation of the same among us? Like as we do with flowers which we like, with apples and other fruit which do please us above all others, we desire to have more of the same kind set in our garden, and more of the same fruit grafted in our orchard, that our posterity may take pleasure in them as well as we.

This is so natural, so goodly, and so reasonable, that methinks it was but a strange question of you to ask, what we lacked. And if I could call this realm of England to speak what it lacked, and what fault it found, I dare say it would not only wish, but expostulate and accuse her Highness, and say, Did not I bring thee up, O Queen? Did not I nourish thee? Hath not God in thy youth saved thee from so many dangers, from prison, from punishment, from death, because thou mightest reign and rule my people in the fear of God and the knowledge of his Son; and that thou mightest once again bring in the light of the Gospel, and cast off the Romish yoke, and keep the race of the mixed rose, which brought again the amiable peace long exiled from among my children by the striving of the two roses? And wilt thou now, as much as lieth in thee, let it be extinct?

What if thy noble father had lived sole as thou doest? what if that good lady thy mother had done so? should I not have lacked thee, in whom I have now such joy and comfort as I never had the like in any Prince? Remember what is the nature, property, and duty of that sex and kind of which thou art. Is it not to bring forth young babes, to nourish them in their tender age, to have that carefulness, motherly-love, and tenderness over them which no man can have? And why do I not see one in thy arms, whom thou mightest kiss, and embrace, and play withal of thine own; which after thee should rule and govern this realm, and be the staff of thine old age and mine? This thou owest to the noble King thy father; this to the wise Prince thy grandfather; this to all thy ancestors; this thou doest to me. And if this be the property and th'end whereunto women were first ordained, to bring forth children, and to propagate the name of their stock and family; why wilt thou, O Queen, having so many high and excellent virtues, stain them all with this wickedness, degenerate from this nature? What meaneth St. Paul, when he saith of women, that *they shall be saved by the bearing of children, if they tarry in the faith?* And what wilt thou, O Queen, deny it always? Why should the wise and courageous Prince thy father put away the superstitious Nuns, if now his daughter should take their property, and as it were their order upon her? Defer still, and still? and how long will it be? Time goeth away; age draweth on; youth flieth; opportunity is spent. And wilt thou not see the bringing up of thy jewel, of that treasure of the realm? wilt thou not see him trained up in such virtue and nurture as thyself was? Shall I tarry so long for it, till age shall drive thee away, and so leave that thy jewel and mine to be brought up by the wide world? What I like in thee, that do I desire to see in the Prince that should succeed thee. And who can be better schoolmaster, nurse, bringer-up of him, than my ELIZABETH can be, the mother of my infant? And such a mother as in a King of most power no realm can desire

more princely and heroical virtues: and for the pain, thou shalt have again this most pleasant recompense; that as thou shalt wax old, so shalt thou see thyself wax as it were young again in him. Now I am sure, would England say, thou wouldest wish with all thy heart, for the love that I know thou dost bear me, thy country, not to leave after thee a child to govern me, but either a man of perfect age, or at the least a young man very near such time as Princes should take the government themselves. And how is that possible, if thou do still prolong, doubt, and defer, as now thou dost?

Thus methinks England might speak well enough to her Majesty; whose word I trust her Highness will both hear and weigh, when it shall please God to put it in her Highness's mind.

But I will return to your other arguments, Mr. Agamus. You were something long in proving, that the Queen's Majesty may in peace by her Council, in war by her General, govern and conduct all things as well as though she were there in person herself. Hardly will I grant that the one should be as well as th'other. I see in all other things, that *oculus domini non solum pascit equum optime*, as he said, but also *colit et stercorat agrum*. The Italians have a proverb, *La faccia d'huomo faccia de leone*, "The face of a man is the face of a lion:" meaning that the presence of a man himself to whom the thing doth appertain, to terror, to diligence, to setting forward of that which is intended, doth surmount and pass all other things. As when our late Sovereign King Henry VIII. lay against Boulogne, and another camp with right good captains before Montreul, the courage of the soldiers, the provision of the victuals, the effect of the enterprise ye know was not like: for th'one fought under the Prince's eye, th'other, as it were, behind him; th'one saw present reward or pain, th'other had but trust of their captain's report.

As touching the Romans, where do you see or read in their histories, that the legates, which we call generals or

lieutenants, did so well as the consuls or proconsuls in any war? who although they were but as other of the senate, yet for that time they had a kingly and sovereign authority, especially abroad. And yet the Romans thought not that enough, but when any danger came, they made *dictatorem;* who from the time of his dictatorship was a very king or monarch, as ye know well enough. So much did they think that legates and generals could not do th'enterprise so well as he that hath the princely *fasces*, as they call them, and the sceptre. And who that readeth the Venetian histories shall see, that although their captain or general hath one of their senate, called *proveditore*, with him, by whose counsel if he do, he doth avoid the danger of judgment; yet for because he is not indeed consul or dictator, ye see their wars go but coldly forward. And this you knowing (which thing I marked in your tale) you praise them for the keeping that which they get, wherefore I peradventure could shew some causes. Indeed for good warriors I never heard man yet give them the prize. And if I should grant this, that the generals in war do as well as the Prince in person, (which thing, you see, I am very loath to do,) and if it had not been strange, and a thing to be wondered at in Octavius Augustus, Plutarch would not have noted it. But if I should grant it, yet as the Greeks say, "One city is before another;" and there is difference in generals and lieutenants; not only in knowledge of the feats of war, and in the hardiness of courage and wisdom to achieve them, but also in estimation of the soldier.

And who can be more esteemed, or go more near to do as much in the wars and with soldiers, as the Queen herself, if she were a warrior, or there in person, should do, as either he which is the King, or the Queen's husband? In King Henry III.'s time, I read of Prince Edward, who was after called Long Shanks, and in the time of Edward III. of the Black Prince, and Henry V. that they did as much as their fathers; and that their soldiers would under their banners fight as valiant, and go as far, as they would

govern, their fathers being then Kings of England. And no marvel; they did not only look shortly to have them their sovereign masters, but they knew in the mean time how dear those persons were to their fathers. Which two things did work so much in their hearts and minds, that there was small want of the royal presence. So much think I it doth excel to the encouragement of the soldier, to the hope of the captain, to the terror of the enemy, to understand that the husband of the Queen, he whom her Highness loveth above all men, and whom she trusteth most, and who can commend their doings at all times to her Highness, to be in the field; over it is, of any other lieutenant or general, whosoever he be.

At one thing I assure you, you had almost made me to laugh, when that you spoke so husbandly of husbanding. I perceive the Queen's Majesty doth not well, that you are not one of the green-cloth, you would husband the matter so well, and teach them all to save money. And for one thing ye might do well there, because I perceive ye love no takers. But if you were once of them, I fear me you would love takers better, and bear with them as well as all the rest do. Oh! merciful God, do you look to save money, and do not care to save your head? You do consider how a few expenses may be saved, and do not see how your posterity shall be spent and consumed. Call to remembrance, I pray you, what was spoken (you wot where and when) a little before the Speaker of the Parliament went to move that petition to her Highness, whereof I spake even now: I would to God her Majesty might live ever; I would she should not die: but now I know that being born of mortal parents, there is no remedy, she must once run this race that all her progenitors have done before, and all mortal men and women shall follow. When that is done, what a damp shall England be in? What an eclipse will that be, if God do not either send a Prince before of her body, or else incredible agrément of the Nobility and Commons? We hear what the Dauphin did attempt by the title of his wife; the Scottish Queen after

the death of Queen Mary. Happy is the Queen's Majesty by the great consent of her subjects; and happy be her subjects by the life and prosperity of her Highness. But if there come any dissension for the trials of titles; if there come part-takings, who should wear the crown, what a more miserable realm should there be in the whole world than this of England?

I am afraid to speak, and I tremble to think, what murders and slaughters, what robbing and rifling, what spoiling and burning, what hanging and heading, what wasting and destroying, civil war should bring in, if ever it should come. From the time that King Richard II. was deposed, in whom all the issue of the Black Prince was extinct, unto the death of King Richard III. the unkind and cruel brother of Edward IV. whose daughter was married, as ye know, to King Henry VII. by reason of titles this poor realm had never long rest. Noble men were beheaded, poor men were spoiled, both one and th'other slain in battle, or murdered at home. Now this King prevailed, now tho'ther. No man sure of his Prince, no man of his goods, no man of his life: a King to-day, to-morrow a prisoner; now hold the sceptre, and shortly after fly privily the realm. And when this fell upon the head, how sped the body, think you? Those two blades of Lyonel and John of Gaunt never rested pursuing th'one th'other, till the red rose was almost razed out, and the white made all bloody; and as it were Eteocles and Polynices, they ceased not till they had filled their country full of bloody streams. They set the father against the son, the brother against the brother, the uncle slew the nephew, and was slain himself. So blood pursued and ensued blood, till all the realm was brought to great confusion. It is no marvel though they lost France, when they could not keep England. And England in the latter end of King Henry VI. was almost a very chaos: parishes decayed, churches fell down, towns were desolate, ploughed fields waxed groves, pastures were made woods; almost half England by civil war slain, and they which remained

not sure, but in moats and castles, or lying in routs and heaps together.

When those two roses, by the relics and last store of the whole, were joined in the amiable knot of marriage, then the strife ended, and England began, as it were, to be inhabited again; men left moats and castles, and builded abroad pleasant houses. And thus it hath continued from King Henry VII. hitherto; save that in this time a few broils of the stirred sea, which could not so soon be calmed, by Martin Swarte, Perkin Warbeck, and Simond out of Ireland, were somewhat renewed: but they were trifles to the rest. Sith which time, not containing yet fourscore years, you see how England is repeopled, the pastures clothed, the deserts inhabited, the rents of lands increased, the houses replenished, the woods so wasted, that now we begin to complain for want of them, and our increase is tedious to ourselves, which find fault with the fruits of peace, because we know not the cause of the success, nor the commodities thereof. But as, if all the world should return to the old chaos, it were the greatest mischief that heart could invent, tongue speak, pen express, or wit indite; so if this should come to our country of England, we for our parts shall feel this I speak of, and as it were the particular judgment of the day of doom. And it standeth but on a tickle and frail ground, if God will so plague our country, whether the red and white rose shall strive again together, or whether the branches of the mixed rose shall cleave asunder and strive within themselves, which is nearer the root. Oh! Lord God, let me not live to see that day. And you, my friend, do you in this company speak of saving of money, to let the saving of this trouble from the realm of England?

With this he held his peace, and seemed indeed very much troubled: and no man said a word even a good pretty space; till at the last the stammerer that I told you of, whom they called after all that night Mr. Godfather, stutting after this manner, said this in effect: By

the Lord, I believe you have told as good a tale as ever I heard. I am now glad I have an excuse by my tongue, for I should not have done it so well. For both in peace and war, and all times you have proved, that it is best for her Grace, and most to her comfort and quiet, to have an husband. Marry, I thought long for this last part, of the necessity of a Prince of her Highness's body. And because you pass it over so with silence, I had thought to have put you in mind of that thing; but now I will not say more of it, for I see it troubleth you as it doth us all.

Now, Sir, you have said so much for me, as I would wish, and I thank you. For the rest, as I said, I am indifferent. If you have any thing to speak for an alien, who be so tender unto you, and whom you do always prefer before us English men, speak on a God's name, and let this gentleman provide well to answer you. For I perceive ye will do well enough both.

III. *Philoxenus, or Lovealien, his second oration for the Queen's marrying with a stranger.*

IN good faith, quoth Lovealien, now I have spoken for you so long, I am in a manner weary, when I should speak for myself. And yet this was not out of the way for me so to do, but in manner necessary. For it standeth not with order of disputation, as to my remembrance Aristotle writeth, that I should go about to prove *quale sit*, before I had proved *quod sit*. Therefore it had been superfluous for me to describe what manner of husband I thought most meet for the Queen's Highness, if it were not first proved by reason, that it were convenient that her Majesty should have one. For if her Grace be fully determined and persuaded by Mr. Agamus, Spitewed's reasons, then to reason whether a stranger or an Englishman were more to be wished, is clean superfluous; for

it is cut off by this one stroke, her Majesty will have none.

Well, here among this company for disputation sake, I will stand so well in my own conceit, that I take Mr. Agamus's opinion thoroughly confuted. And let us put the case that is agreed upon, that best it were for her Majesty to marry; then standeth it in consultation farther of the manner and condition of her husband. Wherein may be made many questions; as whether a young man or a more elderly, whether a bachelor or a widower, an Englishman or a stranger, a great Prince or a King, or a mean personage: as in all such where divers be offered of sundry qualities, whereof the choice and election is to be taken: and because both I am weary, and there hath yet but one of these questions been moved amongst us, I shall speak but of that branch only, whether an Englishman or a stranger is to be preferred. Wherein because I have already declared my opinion which part I mind to take, it resteth that I should also declare the reasons which moved me to think as I have said; and here I intend to begin.

The very true, godly, and essential causes of matrimony, (if I may use that term,) be three: the getting of children without the offence of God; the natural remedy to resist the temptation of the Devil, moving us to fornication or adultery; and the comfort, pleasure, and help which th'one hath of th'other in all private affairs, and in governing the house and family. This last the philosophers, which knew not the right law of God, make the first, the chief, and the whole cause: for as for the second, I mean fornication, they esteemed it not: and the first they thought they might amend, when they would, by adoption, either of their own bastards, or other folks' lawful children, with the consent of their parents. For all these three, this our question doth not vary: for either the stranger or the Englishman seemeth indifferent thereunto; and I make no difference in them. Then there be other causes which be incident, and, as I might call them,

accidental, as honour, power, and riches: having first God, and those three causes which I called essential of matrimony, principally in our eyes, these things ought in this consultation to have the highest place.

And because I take all you here to be no children, and in this which I have said to be in the same opinion that I am, I will make no further proeme, but go to, and confer these together in the two persons which you have brought in to be weighed here as in a pair of balances; that is, the stranger and the Englishman. And I say, if the Queen's Majesty have respect to advancement and honour, can that be in marriage of any within the realm, who being but her subjects be they never so high, shall be under her Highness a great distance? So for that purpose it shall not be advancement but disparagement. Wherein I must commend the late Queen Mary; who having more regard to her honour than to her age, to the advancement thereof than to any other pleasure which she could long have, took to her husband King Philip, Charles the Emperor's son, the greatest Prince of birth and possessions in all Christendom; whereby she gat the sovereignty over so many kingdoms, dukedoms, marchionates, earldoms, baronies, countries, and so forth; that it would be more than an hour's work to rehearse them, and to be the greatest estate of a woman in all Christendom.

And if it be honourable to a Prince to conquer one kingdom with dint of the sword, with making of war, with spoiling, burning, wasting, death, destruction, fire and sword, manslaughter and effusion of Christian blood; how much more honourable ought it to be accounted to obtain and get not one, but a great sort of kingdoms and dominions, not with violence and oppression, but with amity and love, and that most godly, sweet, and pleasant knot of marriage? So Mary the daughter and heir of Charles the Hardy, Duke of Burgundy, by marrying herself to Maximilian son to Fredericus of Austriche, then Emperor, hath made her progeny, the House of Burgundy, to enjoy so many realms and seigniories in Boheme, in Hungary, in

Spain, in Sicily, in Naples, and Italy, in the High and Low Country of Germany, and near it went to have enjoyed also England and Ireland. So Mary the Scottish Queen that liveth now, if the enterprise had had success, and she had had by her husband any son, she should have left a double King; I mean in France a King, as well as of Scotland; and of them both the greater King by her purchase than else he should have been by his mother's inheritance. So Claudia the daughter of the Duke of Britain by marriage with the French King hath made her sons and offspring not only Dukes of Britain, but Kings and possessors of all France; when her ancestors heretofore had much ado always to keep their own, being but only Dukes of Britain, much less could conquer or adjoin to their duchy any thing of the rest of the realm of France.

Now if honour is to be desired, and if it be a glory to be made from a Baroness a Countess, and from a Countess a Marchioness or Duchess, and from a Duchess a Queen; why is it not also as well to be from a Queen an Empress, or from a Queen of one kingdom a Queen of two or three; and so the more honourable, and the more to be sought and desired? To the increase of which honour, if men do apply and study themselves sometimes by sword and sometimes by marriage to attain, why should not a Queen desire to do as well as they, especially by the better, more sure, and more amiable way? Which thing, ye see, can be done either by no ways, or by no ways better than by marriage. And this I have to say of *honour*.

Now I come to *power* or strength; which standeth in two things: either for a Prince to keep his own realm quiet from rebellion, or to make that the foreign Prince being ambitious or desirous of war, neither may dare invade him, or else, if the Prince be so minded, to conquer and recover such things, which of old by titles and just reasons remain to be claimed. The which the Prince heretofore, either for lack of power or money, for shortness of time, civil dissension, their own sloth, or any cause whatsoever it be, hath omitted or foreslowed. For these

remain still as causes unto Princes, when they be weary of ease or desirous of honour, or when other just occasion is offered to exercise themselves and their subjects. For any of those, if her Majesty marry within the realm, what hath she gained? All her own subjects were her own before, all their powers are hers already; not one man hath she for the marriage more than she had before. Whereas if she marry a foreign Prince, if he be an Emperor, all the empire is hers to aid her, and her husband at all events: if she marry a King, likewise all his kingdom: if she marry a Duke, Earl, or Prince, all his vassals, kinsfolks, allies, and friends are united to her realm, and be taken all for brethren, to allow strength and aid, both offensive and defensive, as occasion and necessity shall serve: for who can offend the wife, but he must offend the husband also? So that her Majesty's power must needs be increased by so much as the power of her husband doth extend, either by authority, title, blood, alliance, friendship, or affinity.

Then if Princes be glad, whensoever they invade or be invaded, to ally themselves with the Princes their neighbours, many times by costly leagues and much suit and entreaty of ambassadors, if that may be done by one small act, as choosing such a puissant Prince to her husband, as we would most desire to be our friend or aid in necessity either of defence or invasion, why should not I think that it were better for the Queen's Majesty to take such an one, whereby she may be backed and strengthened, and her power as it were double and treble, than to take one by whom she shall have no more power, help, aid, nor succour brought unto her, than she had before? And it is to be feared that she shall rather have less: for when envy naturally kindleth amongst equals, if the Queen take one of her higher and stronger nobility, all the rest it will be doubted will envy his felicity, and though in words they speak him fair, yet in heart hardly will they love him. For they shall be as rivals and *candidati* for one office; where commonly he that hath obtained, if of the inferior sort, all the rest shall disdain at him; which disdain

will bring grudge; and grudge never bringeth good-will. So that by this marriage her Highness shall seem, not to increase her strength, but to weaken it, not to unite it, but to dissolve it.

Examples be too near to be found. King Edward IV. married the Lady Katharine Gray, a goodly lady, and his enemy's wife. Did not that marriage, as all histories make mention, fill in manner all the rest of the nobility, that thought themselves somewhat, with malice, envy, grudge, and displeasure against all her blood? and her blood by most likelihood did not greatly come behind them. This mischief was the destruction both of th'one and th'other; and not that only, but of the two goodly young gentlemen King Edward's sons, the Prince and his brother. Had it not been better he had married there where the Earl of Warwick was his spokesman; whereby he should have gotten strength abroad, and his nobility at home not so to have been dissevered? Thus far of *power* and strength.

The same I do think also of *riches*. For the which although it doth most become poor men to travail, yet I do not see, but that Princes both do and have as much need to look and study for to get it: especially now in our times, when war is made as much by money as by sword; and he that may longest pay his soldiers, goeth victor away: and if they be both disposed to cock it throughly, yet when they both be made bankrupts, then they must needs conclude a peace. But if her Highness do look to enrich herself and her realms, as both reason would, and I am sure it is no little part of her Grace's study so to do, (which thing may appear by many evident tokens,) seeing that which in England and Ireland is to be accounted her own, (as no man doubteth,) there can of the gathering together of that no advancement be accounted: but if to that which her own kingdom hath, her Highness doth adjoin the riches of another region which is none of hers, then must we needs judge the true increase to be made. Which thing, you know, the marriage of the Lord of the country doth without further cost or danger bring to pass.

And this ye may be sure, that her Highness can take to husband no foreign Prince, nor nobleman of another country, but some riches he will bring with him, more than shall bear his costs. And contrariwise, if her Majesty take one at home, both her own crown must be spoiled of lands and her coffers of money, to furnish him according to his estate: for what private man, of what condition, riches, or power soever be be, is able of his own lands or coffers to bear or maintain the state of her Highness's husband?

And of this matter I think I have said enough. For where there be but six causes or occasions of marriage, as I have declared, whereof the three first be indifferent, that neither the stranger is excluded, nor the Englishman reckoned to have any advantage in them, (which three do appertain chiefly to the conscience, and the godly motives towards matrimony,) and the three other, which rule and lead almost all the world after them, be all upon the stranger's side, as you see, whether way I should lean, if my judgment were asked, it is apparent enough. If th'advancement to honour, whereto all Princes, as ye know, have a special regard and eye; if the increase of power and strength, which is the thing that a wise Prince and Governor doth chiefly covet; if th'augmentation of riches and wealth, which is not the least care that a King or a Queen ought to have; if not one, I say, but all these stand on his side; so that the marriage of a stranger doth appear not only more honourable, but also more safe and more profitable to the Queen's Majesty, I must needs be in this opinion, that it is better for her Highness to take to husband a stranger, than any subject of hers within the realm of England or Ireland.

After he had ended all, the rest held their peace, till my friend the stammerer began, whom they all the night after (as I say) called Mr. Godfather, because he was so ready to nickname the rest. So that as he misnamed others, (and yet not misnamed, for according to their opinions and doings he gave them names; but as he did,) so like-

wise was he upon his doings called of them Mr. Godfather; because that he, as though he had been at a christening, named them all of new. Which names they seemed to me not much to refuse, nor to be angry with them, nor he with his; and therefore I will hereafter so name them all. Well, saith he, for your part, Mr. Lovealien or Lewelyn, (for my tongue loveth to speak short,) you have played it well; and now I am content to be on your side. Marry, I cannot tell what I shall be when my friend here hath spoken, what shall I call him? what other than Homefriend, or, if ye would be christened in Greek, Ἀξένιος, or rather Φιλοβρύτανος; for in good faith he is nothing but English. I think he be the patron and very idea of an old Englishman, which thought no country so good, so plentiful, so rich, so happy as England is; nor no men so fair, so well made, so bold, so hardy, so good warriors, so wise and so discreet, as we Englishmen be. And even now he is so enamoured of his country, that he taketh, I dare say, as the proverb is, the smoke in England to be warmer and better than the fire in France or Italy; and as for the stoves in Germany, he cannot abide them. Well, said Mr. Homefriend, and laughed, I am glad I have my name yet before I shall begin; and I do not fear, but when you have heard me, you will be of my side, and so we shall be at the least two to one; although Mr. Spitewed tarry still in his opinion of nunnery and sole life. And after a little space thus he began.

IV. *Axenius, or Homefriend, his Oration for the Queen's Majesty's marrying with an English Nobleman, rather than any foreign Prince.*

OF one part of my oration, Master Lovealien, saith he, I take myself to be well eased; for you have so much proved the necessity and commodity of her Highness's marriage, and so well refuted Agamus's oration, that

it were superfluous for me therein to make any words. And if you had been disposed to have stretched the vein of your excellent wit, as well in the behalf of our countrymen, as ye were of the strangers, who neither are so near unto you, and shall never do you nor your country so much good, I know you would have done it much better, and I had been eased of my labour, who had rather a great deal be a hearer than a talker. But now, seeing that through your unnaturalness this burden lighteth on my back, although I know that I am very weak, yet had I rather overburden myself than leave my country undefended, or to see my countrymen so much disgraced.

Our question is, whether, if it please the Queen's Majesty to marry, it were better that her Majesty took an Englishman or a stranger. Here you come with your fine and logical distinction, and bring in the causes essential and accidental of marriage; as though we were in a school of *dunsery*, and not in a discourse of pleasure, where we would seek out the truth without any fraud or circumvention. I pray you either mince not the matter so finely, or else go not so lightly away with every piece, before it be either granted to you, or else fully proved.

And first, to the three essentials which you make, I will never grant that the Englishman and the stranger be equal. For even for the first, I mean getting of children, if you ask mine opinion, although after marriage, by the law of God, whosoever the father be, the Prince or child which is gotten shall be most rightful heir of England, and an Englishman, yet it must needs be better an hundredfold that our Prince be a mere Englishman, as well by the father as by the Queen his mother, than half English, which shall have any part of stranger's blood in him.

We laugh at this; and you think that I speak now of the honour and of the affection which I have to our country above other. No, I speak not of affection, but as great causes move me. For I would the Prince of this realm should be wholly English, and that no other realm had any duty to claim of him, but that he should think this his

whole and only country, and natural soil. So shall he never set by other countries, but by this; so shall he not prefer fickle strangers to his trusty subjects; so shall he ever covet to adorn, magnify, and exalt this realm, and drive away no part of his love from it to another. Whereas, if he should have to his father a stranger, it cannot be but he must have a natural mind and affection to this his father's country, and his elder country, and either as much or more than to England: of which thing this realm already hath had proof enough.

The Danes enjoyed once this realm too long: of which, although some of them were born here, yet so long as the Danes' blood was in them, they could never but favour the poor and barren realm of Denmark more than the rich country of England.

The Normans after won and possessed the realm. So long as ever the memory of their blood remained, the first most, and so less and less, as by little and little they grew to be English, what did they? Keep down the English nation, magnify the Normans; the rich abbeys and priories they gave to their Normans; the chief holds, the noble seigniories, the best bishoprics, and all. Yea, they went so low as to the parsonages and vicarages; if one were better to the purse than another, that a Norman had: poor Englishmen were glad to take their leavings. And so much was our nation kept under, that we were glad to dissemble our tongue, and learn theirs: whereupon came the proverb, *Jack would be a gentleman, if he could speak French.*

But as the Norman blood and tongue vanished away, so by little and little, thanks be to God, this mischief began to cease; and the Princes, by process of time made mere English, merely favoured this our nation. And is not this a good cause, think you, why I should wish the Queen's Highness's husband to be of our country, and the Prince, her Majesty's son, to be a mere Englishman? For, as we have seen by these and other proofs in time past, if the Prince should be a Frenchman, he would favour the

French; if an Italian, the Italians; if a Dane or a Swedener, he would also favour his country and countrymen. And is not the whole, at least the greatest part of the love which we Englishmen should require of him, to be derived thither? And you may be assured, as the people see the Prince part his love, so will they part theirs: which love I would have, and wish always to be, whole, entire, and perfect in both; that there should not arise a seditious person to say, *Non est nobis pars in David, nec hæreditas in filio Jesse. Unusquisque ad tentorium, O Israel.*

As for the second, which is the avoiding of adultery and fornication, it lieth more in the gift of God, and the godliness of the mind of the married person, than in the quality of his or her make. But will not evil examples, think you, do much? And, I pray you, what nation is there, where matrimony is so indifferently of each, and so godly of both kept, as in England? The Italians be so jealous, that almost every private man there doth not think himself sure of his wife except he keep her close in a mew, as here in England men keep their hawks. Again, he for his part taketh so much liberty, that to resort to courtezans, to describe his loves and pastimes with others besides his wife, so it be in fine rhyme, and wittily contrived verse, he taketh rather an honour than a dishonour.

Do you think her Majesty, brought up in English manner, can like this suspicion against the wife, or this licentious liberty of the husband? And yet, if her Grace should take an Italian, this is the manner of his country.

The Frenchman in jealousy is not so much, nor doth so straitly, as in prison, keep his wife, as doth the Italian. Marry, for his own liberty, he will give the Italian no place. Their own French books do shew no less; and whoso is conversant with them shall understand the same. And if her Majesty should marry a Frenchman, think you he would not have some great piece of his country manners?

The Scots be in so natural league with France, that he is no true Scot, unless he speak and do French-like.

The Spaniard will rule, and standeth all upon honour.

For other liberty of such pastime he will give place to none, but go as far as any; yet he will do penance peradventure in Lent, or at Easter, and whip himself then in a visor, naked; supposing to make God and his wife amends by it, as he thinketh, and to salve his fond conscience.

But for our English manners, I dare say we esteem it more honourable and more godly, not with such untroth to offend our wives, than first to take liberty, and then to make so mad amends.

The Dutchmen, and the Dane, and all such countries as draw in language and conditions towards them, with the great love which they have to drink, do shadow the other vice, and either may so excuse them, that they did it overcome with drink, or else, indeed, for too much pleasure in the one, care less for the other. But what excuse is that, with vice to elude vice? Or else, what pleasure shall it be to one brought up in English manners, to have an husband which shall almost ever be drinking or sleeping? or if not ever, yet too many times she must be fain thus to bear with him: for it is the manner of his country, and so he was brought up.

These be the faults of other nations; which, though they seem strange to us, yet among them at home, use, custom, and the multitude of them that do so, maketh it no shame, reproach, nor rebuke. Which if her Majesty do mislike, as I am sure her godly wisdom must needs cause her not to like them, then must our Englishman in this case be preferred. And this for the two parts which ye passed so lightly, and take as granted, that in them there was no difference between the Englishman and the stranger.

For the third, that is, the comfort, pleasure, and joy, which the one otherwise privately shall take of the other, which is most necessary, for quietness of mind, and government of the house and family, I take that there is no comparison. For if likeness of tongue, behaviour, manners, education, be those which make love, bring fruit, and cause amity; what can diversity of all these do, but bring

misliking, distrust, and hatred? which be very handsome servants, I assure you, to go on message betwixt the husband and the wife.

And if men be so naturally affectioned to their own country, that they do not only prefer the soil and air thereof before other countries, although they be indeed much better; as the poets, for example, to declare the nature of man's affection, make Ulysses, whom they describe as the wisest and most foreseeing of all the Greeks, after manifold torments of the sea and land, yet to prefer the little, barren, and rocky island Ithaca, which was his own natural country, to all other, yea to the pleasant country of Campania, where riches did dwell, and to the rich and plenteous country of the Phæaces, wherein one grape doth ripen upon another, and figs upon figs, so that there is always plenty; but also the manners, conditions, affections, ordinances, and laws of his own country, every man doth think them better, and more to be esteemed, than those of any other; as Herodotus doth also write, who bringeth this thing for a great argument, that Cambyses was mad, and out of his right wits, because he did not esteem the manners and conditions of his own country. And Alexander had much ado to keep the love of his soldiers and princes of Macedony, and was of them misliked, as one drunken with pride, and half out of his right wits, because he began to wear the apparel, and to like the manners and behaviour of the Persians; insomuch that, although he much desired it, yet he was fain to remit that to his Macedonians, that they should not kneel when they spoke to him, because they could not be brought unto it, forsomuch as it was not the manner of their country to do so to their Princes. So Julius Cæsar durst never call himself King, nor would suffer any man to name or write him Lord or King, because he knew the Romans, otherwise brought up, could not abide it. We see, when Christian religion began first, how earnest the Jews were to bring in their circumcision and ceremonies, and to lay their customs and manners upon our backs: and so much they

esteemed them, that they thought Christ scarcely able enough without them to save us; and that he was no good man except he did as they did.

What shall I gather of this, but that if the Queen's Majesty should marry a stranger, she shall take one who shall not only love his own natural country better than England, but also the apparel, conditions, manners, pastime, and behaviour of his own country, better than those of England. For as it is natural for an Englishman to love England, and to like the manners and conditions of England, so it is natural to Italians, Frenchmen, Germans, Danes, men of Sweden, each one to like theirs. And if it be natural so to do, then he is an unnatural man that doth not, and, as Herodotus thinketh, a man to be counted rather mad and beside himself than otherwise.

Now whether think you better, Master Lovealien, for the Queen to take a stranger, which should be counted a wise, natural, and godly man to his country, or no? If he be so, then shall he set more by his own country than England. And if he be not, then whom will you have the Queen to marry? One who neither shall be counted wise, nor natural to his country? And if he be to that his own country unnatural and unkind, do you think that her Highness shall find any natural love in him, in whom his country, as mother who first brought him up; his subjects, of whom he is lord and patron; the land that bred him; the tombs of all his ancestors; that country where all his friends and kinsfolks dwell; that place which, next unto God, he oweth most duty unto, cannot find? He that is unkind to his own, seldom is found kind to another; he that is most loving to his kin, hardly is to be thought for to be loving to strangers. And again, if he be to be counted a wise and discreet man, and a natural man to his own country, as it is most likely he will be, then shall he covet to enrich that, and to impoverish ours; to honour and exalt that, though it be with the oppressing of this; to bring in the manners and conditions of that country which he liketh best, and to see if he can bring the Queen's Highness to them; and so

to frame her Majesty, as they call it, to his bow, which he thinketh best; not to apply to our institutes, conditions, and manners, which be best indeed. Or be it in case they be not, (as for my part I think they be,) yet our Queen and her people, brought up in them, must of force and nature think them best. Now, Sir, as you say of apparel, manners, customs, behaviour, pastimes, exercises, eating and drinking, so say I also of laws, (for this education containeth all,) what contention hath been always betwixt us and strangers, because they like their laws and customs best, and we ours? They say we do wrong where we do not as they do. And we again think their laws unjust and unequal for us, not only in succession of heritage, but in many other contracts. And when they be here, we make them follow our laws; and when we be there, we must do as their customs be. Now this contention is easily borne, for the one part of fine force must give place. But if you bring this contention once into England, the Queen's Majesty shall like her own realm, customs, and laws; and her people will so desire. Her husband possibly, as he shall think himself as great a Prince or greater, shall like his laws, customs, and ordinances better, and shall by all means study to bring them hither, or else he shall not think himself sure, or not fully a Prince. What turmoil shall that be, trow you, to the realm; what disquiet to her Highness; what fear, suspicion, and heart-burning to her subjects? And what better argument will you have of this, than our laws and customs of England, which may evidently appear (except the acts of Parliament) to be a thing made and gathered of the laws of the Romans, Danes, and Normans: which three nations have been in past times governors and heads of the realm; each one, for their time, bringing in as they could a piece of their country ordinances. And do you not think, that if King Philip had been long here, he would not have brought some piece from Spain? If nothing else, at least the Inquisition, as they call it, as he did to Naples: whereby, what insurrec-

tions and troubles arose there, it is easy to learn by the French histories.

Now if it please her Majesty to take one of her own country, all these doubts be removed. He must needs love his country as his own; he must favour it as the mother of him and all his ancestors, as the land wherein he took his first breath, and that wherein not only the most, but all his living is; and he must love her Majesty as the chief of the same, reverence her as the mother of his country, obey her as the head of the realm, to the which, next unto God, he oweth duty and love. His manners, customs, pastimes, diets, laws, titles, rights, be all English; nothing differing from those wherein the Queen's Majesty hath been brought up. But so much as should make him have the more honour, admiration, and obedience to her Majesty; and so much the more, because he cannot, though he would, dissemble or forget from what place her Highness taking him, to what place she hath brought him. Whereas, on the contrary side, the foreign Prince, standing upon the reputation of his country, may perhaps little weigh that as a benefit, but stand upon the terms of as great and as good.

Yea, but whosoever her Highness would marry, he shall be such as will frame himself to all these. First, there is a question, If he can: for they say, *Mercury is not made of every wood;* so every person is not apt to all kind of manners. Then the next is, If he will: for it is hard bending an old oak; and an old tree, long grown crooked, will not with ease grow the other ways. But if he will and can learn to apply himself to our manners, is it not better to take one which is already for the purpose, if he may be had, than to take one which is to break anew, and to be doubted of when you have done? And if any breach or dissension should chance to arise between her Highness and her husband, as we see no year is so fair but there be some foul and rainy days in it, and no peace so surely made, but that it is wisdom for Princes to provide against

war, let us examine this part. The stranger strait standeth upon his reputation, which should he yield, he is a great man born, a Prince as she is; his country as good, or, as he peradventure will think, better; why should he yield to his wife? He will peradventure say, he hath borne too much, he will bear no more. And if he cannot make his party good here, he will send to his subjects, his friends, his kinsfolks, his allies. So shall we have her Highness in a strange agony, the realm in an intricate and unspeakable trouble. Or if he despair to make his party good, he hath a ready passage home to his country again. There will he triumph at his pleasure, and have leisure there to study upon mischief to her Highness and realm; or at the least so long to hold out, till the Queen's Majesty be glad to sue to him for a peace, and to make ambassadors for a concord.

Can this happen, if her Majesty marry one here in England? What refuge, what comfort or succour can he have, but in her Highness? If her Highness be displeased with him, where is his stay, his aid, his defence, his garrison, and help to fly unto? what hath he to make any brag again to her Majesty? No, no; it will not be. And as a man bound to the peace in the Star-chamber in the pain of 10,000*l.* he will be loath, yea by countenance, to seek to break it, for fear of forfeiting of his bond, which he is not able to pay: so that person, if natural love and duty cannot make him, yet this danger and fear shall make him always to apply to love, serve, and honour her Majesty, because the contrary bringeth to him the next pain to hell. And if he should be faulty, no sanctuary, no refuge hath he to avoid the forfeit.

This part indeed is that which nippeth the most, and which you would fain steal away from us. With which, and the other three, ye joined God as the author of those marriages, which was before all these three causes, or any of them, were made: wherein, I do assure you, in my mind, you did not only like a wise and learned man, (as we all know you are,) but like one that cannot dissemble the

truth. Although, to make for your purpose, you can play the orator's part, and pass after such a sort, that if we had not given good eye unto you, we should have taken no advantage thereat; which must have been counted rather our folly in this part, than any thing else. Then those marriages which be made for these three grounds, and for these three causes only; that is, the continuance of succession, the avoiding of fornication, the hearty love growing upon the virtuous and godly disposition each of others, and comfort and pleasure, which they look to have in that fellowship of life and community of all thoughts, pleasures and displeasures, be the godly marriages, and those which most commonly God will bless, and upon whom smallest repentance doth follow. And that man or woman, which for these three causes especially do take their mate, seem to have God before their eyes, and to have a godly mind and will, and to take the just and right way: and he or she that taketh any of the other three, which is honour, power, and riches, to be their guide, and chief cause, and hath not the chief regard to the other three beforenamed, (which you call essential,) leaveth God out of the way, and taketh some other tickle or frail things, the Devil or the world by most likelihood, to be his broker and marriage-maker. So that her Highness, by your school and teaching, having first in her mind the continuation of her posterity with the fear of God, is to consider and make election of one, whom her Majesty can fancy, by the stable and profound judgment of her most excellent wisdom, to be such an one, as whom she shall have always a joy to behold; a comfort to have at home, a most sure trust abroad, an helper in adversity, a pleasure in prosperity; whom, for his wisdom and dexterity, gentleness, faithfulness, and affability, and other noble virtues and qualities, her Majesty shall think worthy to be preferred above all others; and whom she shall not think for a while to be so, or so for a show, but to be so indeed, and (so much as man's instability can suffer) to be so for ever. Wherein, as it appeareth, little regard or nothing is to be had of

advancement of riches, honour, or power: for whosoever hath God on his side, and God his guide in marriage, must need be counted to have all these.

And hitherto you see we have proved the Englishman, for all these purposes, to be far above the stranger. And if this election be to be had of the man, because for such a prey no craft of wit or engine of man shall be left unassayed; the next care is to see that her Highness take not a glass for a diamond, or gilt for true gold: and for that, let us see where her Highness may soonest be deceived. The stranger either her Majesty seeth not, or seeth but for the time of his wooing. How then? he doth it by ambassadors, and moveth it by letters; he maketh his friends to commend him; he spareth for no gifts. What judgment is all this of the man? Will his ambassadors tell any of his faults? and will they disclose any of his vices? Will they open any of his imperfections? Nay, all that must be hidden within a ninefold stone wall. But they increase with words his virtues (if he have any) above the skies; they praise his stature, beauty, strength, body, as much as their wits can extend unto. If he have any strength at all, they make him Achilles or Hector; if he have ever been at wars, he is as good a captain as Alexander or Julius Cæsar; if he be not altogether a simple or ignorant man, he is as wise as Ulysses, and as eloquent as Nestor; if he be not altogether deformed, he is as fair as Paris or Nereus; if he be a Prince not altogether a beggar, he hath the riches of Crœsus and magnificence of Solomon; if any doubt of his inconstancy, hastiness, or any other vice, he is as continent as Xenocrates, as meek and patient as any lamb, and more gentle than ever was Pomponius Atticus. This shall the Queen hear to whom the suit is made, this the ambassadors shall say, this the commender shall write; yea, and if need be, some shall be hired at home to help to bear a part of this song. And is this a sure proof, trow you, for her Majesty to adventure her person for a continual either joy or torment, as it shall happen?

Well, but for a more sure trial of his personage, ye shall

have a picture brought, as they will swear, *ad vivum*. Of which, if ye see two, not one shall be like the other: and if they be, what is the picture to the man? And yet I heard not many years ago of a certain lady, who, having the picture sent unto her of one whom she never saw, who should be her husband, was so enamoured thereon, and so ravished, that she languished for love, and was in a manner out of her wits for his long tarrying and absence. But I ween hot love was soon cold, and not long after repented. But what other proofs can you have of him that dwelleth not within four or five hundred, or a thousand miles or more of the realm? And if he do come hither, he cometh but his wooing time; all which time he must be liberal, magnificent, plentiful, princely, and make a shew of all his virtues, although it be but for that while. How long, I beseech you, can a man dissemble his nature, till he come to his purpose? Nero, the five first years of his reign, was the best of all Princes. All those whom you have named so unkind to their wives, were not such all that time that they did woo, I suppose: for if they had been, I know those marriages had never been made nor repented. Thus your stranger cometh to be seen, but as it were in a visor, scarcely so well as if one should spy him out of a window. So that what diseases, infirmities, or imperfections soever the stranger shall have, either of body or mind, the Queen's Majesty cannot know them but by hearsay; and so, as I have said, she shall hardly or never know them, or else by assaying; and that is when it is too late to repent.

The Englishman is here at home, not his picture or image, but himself. His stature, colour, complexion, and behaviour, is to be seen face to face. And not only that, but his education and bringing up, his study, exercise, and what things he hath a delight in, what things he doth refuse, every fault, imperfection, deformity, and whatsoever should be to his hindrance, is apparent and clear, both to the ears and eyes of time past and present; and may be tried, and as it were pierced and looked clean through; what he is disposed to, and what he is like for to be, almost

so well as if there were a window made in his breast, as Momus did require. Then, if there be any such qualities and perfection in any of our nation, which her Majesty can like, were it not more to be wished for her Highness to make her choice there where her own self is judge and the trier of the truth, where her own eyes, her wise and princely estimation, giveth the sentence, than to build upon hearsay, and in so weighty a matter to buy, as the common proverb is, *a pig in the poke*. With whether of the two, I pray you, is it most like that her Majesty shall lead her life most quietly, most joyfully, and most to her heart's contentation, most agreeing to the nature of her country, stature, and comparature of his body, such as herself being judge cannot be dispraised; the qualities of the mind, which she doth esteem worthy such a personage; the manners, such as her Grace can best agree with; or else him whom she never saw before, whose tongue is not like to hers; the manners of the country, and the education, strange from hers, whose people is of another condition than hers; for whose corporature, lineaments of body, behaviour of manners, and conditions of mind, she must trust to others, and put in hazard and adventure, whether after she shall like them or not. Of this you see, Mr. Lovealien, that in your three first chief and essential points, which you not only made principal, but you joined with God, I can nothing agree with you. Now will I come to the incident matters, where ye think to have marvellous advantage.

And first for *honour:* in the which ye talked so, as though the Queen's Majesty, if she should marry any nobleman of England, it should be counted a disparagement. And herein you bring in such ladies and duchesses as have married with their own men, wherein I must needs confess that there is a disparagement; for that these men were not noble by birth, and therefore not meet to match with such noble women. But for the Queen's Majesty to marry one of her noblemen is no disparagement at all. Neither is the comparison like. And in this case ye

do make me to marvel at you, and to doubt what you do think of the nobility of this realm of England, as though they are not as noble as the nobility is of other realms. Is not a Duke of England, an Earl, a Baron, and their sons, as much to be counted noble, as they be in other realms? That, I think, you cannot deny. How then should the Queen's Majesty be more disparaged, marrying here one of that degree than there? For methinks you do so speak, that if her Highness married a Duke or a Nobleman of another realm, then it were no disparagement: which if you grant, then either grant this also, or shew the diversity. Ye will say, because here they be all her Highness's subjects. So surely they be. But her subjects be of divers sorts and degrees; whereof the nobility is as the right arm of the Prince, the glory and beauty of the realm, the [root and] nursery of her Highness's stock and family, offsprings of Kings and Queens of England, and whom her Highness and all her progenitors calleth always in her letters and writings and common talk, *cousins:* which word *cousins* betokeneth, that in mingling of that blood there can be no disparagement. And so much as you would seem in your talk to embase that order and estate, so much you must needs appear to abase and contemn the Queen's Majesty's own blood, to whom they be, and always have been, accounted allied and as cousins.

And is it a disparagement for the Queen of England to marry an Englishman? Why more than to the King of England to marry an English woman? The authority is all one; and as well is the English woman a subject to the crown as the English man. Do you think that King Henry VIII. her Majesty's father, was disparaged, when he married her Highness's mother, or Queen Jane, or Queen Katharine Par; and that he was always disparaged save once, when he married his brother's wife, which was a stranger? And think you that all the rest of the Kings of England, of whom a great number married their own subjects, were disparaged? Methinks this is a strange and unnatural opinion. If it be an honour to be a King's wife, or a Queen's

husband, not only to the person, but also to the region out of the which they come, no country may justlier crave that honour, nor to none the Prince doth more justly owe that love, than to her own country, where she was born, and where she is Queen.

And if ye would be loath to suffer, and would spend your blood rather than this realm should be tributary or subject to any other; yea, you would not gladly see that any foreign Prince should do so much here, or be so much set by here, and have so much power, as your natural Prince and Queen; and if you may justly call that a disparagement, when this realm, which is the head of nations round about, is put under the girdle of another; who maketh more disparagement, I pray you, the foreign Prince to be the Queen's husband, or the English subject?

But you are of the opinion, as I perceive, that Erasmus speaketh of, that thinketh it not comely for a King's daughter to be coupled but with a King or a King's son. To whom he answereth as well as if he had studied this our case. "This is private men's affection," saith he, "from which Princes ought to flee as fast as they may. "If she marry," saith he, "to one who is not of such "power as she or her father, what is that to the purpose, "if that he be for the realm more expedient? It is more "honour to the Prince to neglect that foreign dignity of "the marriage, than to prefer her womanly affection to the "profit of the realm." So far is that great, learned, and wise man from your opinion, that he calleth the marriage with strangers *uneven marriages*, and, as a man would say, *disparagements*, when he saith there lacketh both that love and dearness, which the common country, likeness of body and mind, doth bring; and that natural, and true, and uncounterfeit affection, which those marriages have which are made between them that have all one country. He saith also, as I have said before, that hardly the country acknowledge them that are born of those uneven marriages for their own, or that those that are so born cannot with all their hearts love their country; but as their

bloods be mingled out of divers countries, so their love is but as it were half dealed and parted in twain. And did not this man, think you, as a prophet, declare that thing which we did see of late in Queen Mary? Did not her vehement love toward Spain and Spaniards declare, that she was but half English as it were in affection? so that mingled blood in her nature could not hide itself.

And if the case standeth so, and *honour* be so much to be looked unto, as ye will have it, better it were for her Highness, and more honourable, as it may appear evidently, to make one of her noblemen, by that means, equal to a foreign Prince, who shall always be ready to obey and honour her, than to take a foreign Prince from abroad, who shall look to command, and be her superior.

And because that poetry is reckoned of a great learned man to be the eldest philosophy, (for long before the philosophy of Thales and Socrates began, most ancient writers called *poets*, by feigned examples, or else by deeds done, described like fables, did instruct men, and cause the witty reader in them to see the good success and happy fortune of well-doings, and the evil success and inconveniences which follow of evil-doings; that so we might have, as it were, shewed before our eyes, what to follow, and what to eschew,) let us weigh and consider what they write of this matter, and what examples they make of those heroical and noble women, who, forsaking their own countrymen, fell into the love of strangers. How good, how true, how loving, I pray you, were your strangers to them? Was not that lusty and valiant warrior, Jason, soon gotten, and most unkindly and uncourteously did forsake Medea of Colchos, who not only saved his life, but for his love lost her country; and, to save her lover's life, did abandon the lives of her father and brother? How long was Theseus of Athens kind to Ariadne, King Minos's daughter, who saved his life, else to have been destroyed in the labyrinth? How true was Demophoon to Phyllis of Thracia, Hercules to Omphale of Lydia, or Æneas to Dido of Carthage? All these Queens or Queens' daughters, who, contemning the

noblemen of their own country, as unequal unto them, chose these lusty and courageous Knights, strangers, Kings or Kings' sons, to be their husbands; men of another country, language, and behaviour, than theirs.

I would not wish her Majesty, but her Highness's enemies, such aid, help, honour, riches, and contentation of mind, as those noble women had of those marriages by the description of the poets. Therefore Sophonisba, wife to Syphax, was worthy praise as a wise and stout lady, who was content to put herself into the hands of Masinissa; for so much as he was a Numidian, born in the same country of Africa that she was. But rather than she would come into the power and hand of the Romans, being to her strangers, she chose with a draught of poison to rid herself, both from her life and from her care.

Well, I had rather in this matter *bene ominari:* and therefore I will bring no more examples out of histories, as ye know well enough I can, of the successes of such marriages. But well I wot our country, by all likelihood, rather desireth that her Highness had one of this realm than a stranger. It is not long ago since there was a stir for that matter, that cost a good sort of gentlemen's lives. Do I forget, think you, what argument of authority you used against my friend here, Mr. Spitewed? Do you then remember the motion of our Speaker, and the request of the Commons House, what they did, and could have moved then; and how they ran all one way, like the hounds after the hare, high and low, knights and esquires, citizens and burgesses, such as were of the Privy Council, and others far and near? Whom preferred they, I pray you, then, if they should have had their wish, the stranger or the Englishman? And think you they did not consider her Majesty's honour as well as you? Do you suppose that they knew not as well what was disparagement as you? whose judgments if you would have to be esteemed so much, as appears in your argument you would, and as I think you will even now subscribe unto, this matter is concluded, and your disparagement is gone.

And where you said that the marriage within the realm should bring in envy, strife, contention, and debate; and for to prove the same you shew forth the marriage that King Edward IV. made with the Lady Katharine Gray, wherein followed such dissension, cruelty, murder, and destruction of the young Prince and his brother; the sequel I grant: marry, if you do consider the matter well, ye do allege *non causam, tanquam causam.* As for the stomach and grief of the Earl of Warwick against the King, I think indeed that marriage was the cause; not because the Queen was an English woman, but because the King having sent the Earl as his Ambassador to conclude a marriage for him, which the King did afterward refuse to accomplish. And this the Earl thought not only to touch the King's honour, but also his; and sought therefore the revenging: which he would as well have done, and he had the same cause, if he had concluded it in England, and after the King refused it. So that it was not the place or person, but the breaking of the promise, and disavouching of his ambassage, and the touching of the Earl's honour herein, that made the strife between the Earl and the King. For the rest, for the beheading of the Earl Rivers and others, the marriage was not the cause, but the devilish ambition of the Duke of Gloucester and the Duke of Buckingham; which may appear by the sequel: for the one rested not till he had the crown, nor the other till he lost his head. And I pray you what kin was the Lord Hastings to the Queen? and yet he lost his head even then. King Henry VI. married in France. And did not that marriage make dissension enough in England? And for all that the Queen was a French woman, was not her husband and her son, by the desire of the crown, which the Duke of York had, both bereaved of their crown and lives?

So that you see that neither marriage within the realm maketh these mischiefs, nor yet the marriages without can let them, but wisdom, foresight, and good governance, and chiefly the aid and grace of God. But it is a great thing to be considered, the riches, power, and strength, which

shall be, by marriage of a foreign Prince, as well for the establishment and well keeping of her Highness against insurrections and conspiracies which might chance here within the realm; and for invasions, war, battle to be made by or against Princes abroad, and without the realm. And here you seem to triumph, as though all were yours, and as though it were a thing clear, and without all controversy.

But I pray you let us weigh this matter. Do you think so much riches and so much strength gotten unto the realm, when she shall marry a foreign Prince? Do you praise so much Queen Mary for marrying King Philip? Indeed he is a Prince, as you say, as great in birth and possession as any Christian Prince is at this day. But what was England the better for his marriage? We kept Calais above two hundred and odd years in the French ground, in despite of all the French Kings which have been since that time, in all the civil wars, and the most pernicious dissension that ever was, either in King Henry IV. Henry VI. Richard III. or King Henry VII. their times. And in King Henry VIII.'s time we won also Boloign and Boloignois. And did the increase of strength in his marriage make us to lose in this time? I do assure you, for my part, I never saw, nor I think if I should have lived this five hundred years heretofore past, I should not have seen at any time England weaker in strength, men, money, and riches, than it was in the time when we wrote King Philip and Queen Mary, King and Queen of so many kingdoms, dukedoms, marchionates, and countries, &c. For all those jolly titles, our hearts, our joy, our comfort, was gone. As much affectionate as you note me to be to my country and countrymen, I assure you I was then ashamed of both. They went to the musters with kerchiefs on their heads. They went to the wars hanging down their looks. They came from thence as men dismayed and forlorn. They went about their matters as men amazed, that wist not where to begin or end. And what marvel was it? as my friend Mr. Agamus saith. Here was nothing but

fining, heading, hanging, quartering, and burning; taxing, levying, and pulling down of bulwarks at home, and beggaring and loosing our strong holds abroad. A few Priests, men in white rochets, ruled all: who, with setting up of six-foot roods, and rebuilding of rood-lofts, thought to make all cock-sure.

And is this the surety we shall look for, the defence we shall find, the aid we shall hope of, if the Queen's Majesty take a foreign Prince to her husband? And what decay came at that time to the substance of the realm, and riches both public and private, it would be no less pity to think, than it is needless to tell unto you especially. For first, what debt the realm was left in, to be paid beyond the seas, you heard it declared by Mr. Secretary in the first Parliament of the Queen's Majesty; and how much it did exceed the debt of King Edward VI. What was owing also to the subjects within the realm? It was marvellous to hear how the private substance was diminished: part might be seen by the subsidy books. And in the first Parliaments of King Philip and Queen Mary, you heard a burgess of London make plain declaration and proof, that the city of London alone was worse in substance, in those five years, by 300,000*l.* than it was at the death of the late King Edward. And if you will say that King Philip, being so occupied with continual wars, in which the Emperor his father left him, could not be rich: but her Majesty may take one that shall bring in great wealth and treasure, and whom his friends have left very rich: this may be done I do not deny, although it be unlikely that any Prince would be so unnatural to rob, spoil, make bare, poor, and naked his own country or realm, to enrich this. But if he should do, doth he not, think you, look to be a gainer by it? I think he doth not mean to cast his money away; but possibly he may look for the greater usury, the longer he tarrieth for it, and do as some men do, adventure a little to get a great treasure.

But grant that he looketh for nothing. Even for mere love and royalty he will bestow the money here in the

realm, he will enrich the Queen's Majesty, he will frankly spend all. What shall he do when all is spent? We see the treasure of King Henry VII. All the treasure which Maximilian left to the Emperor Charles, and which came to him out of the Indies, and other countries, which I take to be as rich to his coffers as the Indies, had an end. That which in long time is slowly gathered, is, if occasion so serve, soon spent and consumed. I pray God then this sudden riches make not again a long repentance; this sudden joy a long ruing; this speedy enriching a longer taking. Whereas if we were content with our own, as we know the coming in, so we measure the spending. If we will say that yearly there shall come in the revenues of that realm, which shall supply again the empty coffers: first, I will ask you, if that realm you do speak of is kept with nothing? and where that realm shall stand that hath no enemies near it, no garrison on the frontiers, no soldiers to be paid, no officers to be kept, no charge to go out? I know few regions, but all that ever can come of them ordinarily can do no more, but keep their own ordinary charges. For I see when they have any extraordinary thing, as war or marriage to be made, the Princes are constrained to seek extraordinary means, by subjects' love, and other devices, to bear them. I see this in France, in Italy, in Spain. The rich Indies be so rich to the King of Portugal, for all that he is only the merchant of spices to all Europe: yet now almost every man doth see, that he is scarcely with the revenues of them able to bear their charges. As Milan and Naples, so the charges of keeping them is no doubt incredible to him that hath not marked nor known it. And the accounts truly made, I assure you, small gains King Philip hath of them. And if the Prince being away from thence remaining, the enemies should invade the realm you speak of, should it not be necessary, trow you, to employ that revenue and more upon it? Or if the people seeing their treasure so wasted, and their realm impoverished, should repine at it, as some countries would do, and refuse to pay any more; or if any

other in his absence should take upon him to usurp the state, and pretend some titles, (as we see to ambitious heads there never lack titles, either of kindred or commonwealth, to claim to themselves the sovereignty,) what gain shall be looked for from thence? Nay, what charges shall we be put to by it? Either we must abandon that realm, which were the greatest dishonour that could be; or else employ all our force and treasure to the recovery thereof: either of which, if they should chance, (as few realms be long without them,) then casting our cards aright, we shall find very small advantage.

And for proof of this which I say, we will but examine your own examples. Mary the Scotch Queen was highly advanced, you say, to the Dauphin; who afterwards was the French King, called Francis the Second. But what riches came by that match to the realm of Scotland? Ask the Scots; who for the great oppression which they suffered by the French, and the great impoverishing of the poor realm, were fain to demand aid of us their old enemies; and yet in their distress their most sure friends and faithful neighbours. And then what aid had she of the French, I pray you, when for the misgovernment of them, the subjects of her purchased realm, she had almost lost the government of her own natural, and, as I would call it, patrimonial realm, which came to her by inheritance from her ancestors?

We will come to the third Mary, the daughter and heir of Charles the Hardy, Duke of Burgundy, because here you think to have your strongest bulwark; she marrying Maximilian the Emperor's son, I cannot deny but her posterity is now in divers places of Christendom the chief rulers and governors; but I will deny that her country of Burgundy is in so good an estate as it was in her father's time: for then it was head and chief, but now it is subject to the House of Austrich: then the Burgundians were reckoned the hardiest and most valiant warriors; now be the Spaniards, Almains, and Italians before them. Their riches were then a terror to France, a marvel to all the

world; now it is but a little patch to King Philip's power. And if they were not as well taxed and assessed in the Emperor Charles, and this mighty and puissant King Philip's time as ever they were, the Burgundians were much to blame to groan so fast. Take Antwerp apart, and a few small things by the sea-side, which have had another cause of increase, let us see if all the rest of the cities be not greatly in decay, and in far worser state than they were when they had but a Duke to their head. As when one river falleth into another, they do increase indeed, and make larger water, but yet the less river thereby loseth both his name and strength; and the biggest river that is falling into the sea, loseth his force and power, and is salted as well as the rest be. So a kingdom swalloweth up a dukedom adjoining, and the bigger kingdom the less. And if they fall both into the lap of a mighty great monarch, as the Emperor of Rome, of the Turks, or of the Persians, security they may have, but their honour and liberty is clean lost; whether conquest giveth it them, or marriage. Howbeit of these the empire of the Romans doth least oppress, and leaveth most liberty; which is not for fault of will but of strength. What intended Charles the last Emperor to do to the Almains? what attempted his predecessors against the Swissers? what hath he brought to pass at Naples and Milan? and what did King Francis to Piedmont?

These may be mirrors and examples to us to consider, and see what advancement it would be to us, to fall into the hands and power of a Prince that is a stranger, and stronger than we be.

Now if you will say, there may be covenants made, bonds taken; and for the more surety, by the Parliaments of both realms, the conditions of matrimony may be enacted, and such assurances devised, as there may be no doubt of any inconveniences to follow: indeed this is a device, but I pray you, let me tell you of a question that not long ago a Baron of England moved in the Parliament

to this purpose: and if you can assoil it, you shall move me much. If the bands be broken between the husband and the wife, either of them being Princes and Sovereigns in their own country, who shall sue the bands? who shall take the forfeit? who shall be their judge? and what shall be the advantage? If you will not answer, I will tell you: discord, dissension, war, bloodshed, and either extreme enmity, or else the one part must at length break and yield. If you will say, Tush! he will not do against his promise; he will not break his accord and agreement; he will so much consider his honour and love, that what he hath once said, he will always stand to. Well, granting that, I pray you, what needs any bonds? whereupon cometh this mistrusting, but upon fear? So long as love lasteth, and he standeth in that mind in which he was when he made the bonds, I myself do not doubt but he will keep them, because he so mindeth: and then the bonds be superfluous. But if his mind fortune to alter or change, and so he misliketh the conditions whereto he hath agreed, and will not keep the covenants, what shall these bonds avail? To which you have neither place of judgment, persons of plaintiff or defendant, and least of all a competent judge to compel the wrong doer to abide right. And if it were done, what pleasure shall the compelled party have of the compeller? or what trust can the compeller have of the compelled? Nay, bonds, covenants, indentures, and conditions, be far from the free love, sincerity, and hearty doings of love, when the hearts, minds, and bodies be united. Can there be a surer bond than that which maketh them all one? and if they be not so, then they be two; and what two? Marry, Princes, which know to rule, and not to be ruled, and who may not abide to be compelled or enforced. Nor is it so meet that otherwise they should, but only by persuasion; nor indeed cannot without battle or bloodshed. I think an article comprised in the conditions by act of Parliament with King Philip was, that we should not for his cause enter into war with France. But

yet I trow we did, to our no small loss. And you heard rehearsed by Agamus, how well Jaques de la Narde kept his bonds to Queen Jane of Naples.

But let us leave all this, and have respect only to our gain, and that the Queen's Majesty shall have her honour and power marvellously advanced, and her dominion enlarged into I cannot tell how many miles. This is the fair show: look what followeth. The greater monarchy, the larger frontiers; the more garrisons, the more intricate titles, the more ready occasions for war: which must needs be the consuming of money, of disquieting her subjects, of emptying the realm of able men. We had two Emperors of Rome came out of the isle when it was Britain, Constant and Constantine. This, you will say, was a great honour to the realm, that a nobleman of England should hold the crown of the empire: not now, when it is in manner but little, but then, when to be Emperor of Rome was to rule all the world. And so would I say too, if I did not consider as well the sequel thereof as the first fair show. For in taking the power from hence, they took so many of the good warriors, expert captains, tall and likely men; that they left the Britains so weak, that the Scots, and Princes over them, overcame them in every place. They were fain to ask aid of the Saxons: and of them who came for their aid, they and their posterity for ever were driven down, out of the whole country of England, into the barren mountains of Wales. King Edward III. a Prince most valiant and victorious, with those victories in France, and continual carrying over of men, to people such towns, cities, and fortresses as he had won there, did make the people here at home so thin, and those that were left so desirous rather to spoil than to labour, that from the twentieth of his reign to the twenty-sixth or twenty-seventh, he and all the Council of the realm were most troubled and occupied, how to cause the fields of England to be tilled; as may appear by the acts of Parliament made in that space. And if this disadvantage be

in victory, what shall be in the loss? If it be thus in conquering, what shall it be in being overcome?

As for such wars as we have for our own to do, I have not seen it, neither read, but with our own nation we have been able to man them well enough; and have not used, or have not much been helped with the power of other Princes allied. Which thing also Nicolao Michiavelli hath noted. And read you the histories, and you shall see, that when we had most help of them, then least was done. And first of France, at Agincourt, at Cressy, and at Poitiers, wherein the greatest battles were foughten, and the most noble victories obtained, there was but our own nation, and the King of England's subjects. King Edward I. in so often conquering all Scotland used but his own subjects. And hitherto sith the time of William the Conqueror, we have, thanks be to God, been able to defend ourselves against the French and the Scots, always allied together, without the help of foreign aid. So that we have at the end saved our realm, and rather gotten of them than lost. And King Henry VIII. marrying at home, did not only save, but also got both in France and Scotland; and kept also that which he had gotten. Queen Mary having by marriage all these helps, which you so greatly praise, so far she was from getting now, that she lost that which was gotten by her ancestors, and had been kept by the English so long.

But because we shall better and more near at hand see the advantage of heaping realms together, King Edward III. and the Black Prince got almost all France. His next successor therefore must needs have his power marvellously increased. So may it appear. For though he were confessed the right heir, yet a nobleman of this realm of England bereaved him of both France and England. King Henry V. again drove the Dauphin to a very strait room in France. Wherefore by your reason his power must be marvellously augmented, which he did leave to his son. Did not a Duke of his realm dispossess him of his crown,

for all the help that Queen Margaret his wife, and daughter to Reigner Duke of Anjou, and King of Sicily, Naples, and of Jerusalem, could bring from her father, and all those four realms, to the aid of her husband, or the Prince her son: so that for that matter the Italian proverb seemeth true, *Chi troppe abbraccia poco stringe*, "He that "embraceth too much, holdeth fast but a little."

Now for increase of riches, let us go as near. Many would judge that the getting and keeping of Boulogne and Boulognois in France, now in the time of King Henry VIII. and the obtaining and holding of Haddington, and the Peethes, and a great part of the Lowdian in Scotland, should have brought in great riches to this realm. It was that almost beggared England: for thereby our fine gold was conveyed away, our good silver appeared not, our massy and old plate was melted; and every man seeth that not only our good coin was wonderfully consumed, but that which was left, piteously altered and made worse; the gold much debased; and at the last, for sterling silver we had two parts of copper, and scarce the third part true metal remaining in the coin: which now, without any such revenues, either out of France or Scotland, thanks be to God and the Queen's Highness, beginneth well to amend again. Whether think you King Henry IV. which had but England, left his kingdom richer to his son King Henry V. than he, with all his conquests, to his son King Henry VI. who had nothing in France but Calais? Did not King Henry VII. leave more riches in his coffers to King Henry VIII. who conquered both in France and Scotland, than he left to King Edward VI.? And do you not perceive that Queen Mary, who wrote that she was Queen of so many kingdoms, Duchess of so many dukedoms, Marchioness and Countess of so many marchionates and earldoms, &c. did not leave less riches in her coffers and wealth in the realm, at the time of her death, than ever any of her progenitors did?

My masters, say what you will, and call me as it please you, either enemy to strangers, the pattern or idea of an

old Englishman, Home-friend, or what you list, I say and see that it is ENGLAND alone that shall make her Highness strong; ENGLAND, and no other, her true patrimony, riches, power, and strength, whereto she must trust; ENGLAND, her Highness's native country alone, being well tilled and governed, shall be better to her Majesty in the end, than all those empires, kingdoms, dukedoms, and marchionates, and other rabblements of gay titles, which are but wind and shadows, and makers of cares and costs: which are no profit, but rather hindrance and loss, as at last will be proved, and, as you may perceive by these discourses, her predecessors have proved. Now, Mr. Philoxenus, or Lewelyn, or Love-alien, (for I thank my godfather neither you nor I can lack names,) I have sufficiently, as methinketh, answered you to your six parts, causes, or occasions, which you make of marriage.

You see, that for *succession*, that Prince shall be to the realm most loving, most tender, and most natural, which hath both his parents mere English: and such an one hath England most cause to love, who is mere hers, of whom no other region may claim any part. You see that for *pleasure*, *comfort*, and *joy*, which in matrimony the one should have of the other, the Englishman for likeness of manners, for naturalness of education, yea, and because he is most tried and best known, is most likely to be more kind, loving, and natural, than the stranger; who is both different in tongue and manners, rather stumbled on by fortune, than chosen by certainty. You see how it is to the realm most *honourable*, and to her Grace most allowable, not to despise and contemn, or to reckon inferior to any other country men, those which her own region and country bringeth up. Ye see that *strength*, which foreign Princes bring, is rather a weakening than a strengthening, rather to be suspected than trusted. Ye see also, that the stranger ever is like to have, and also more like to impoverish, than to enrich the realm: and that the realm itself, by good government, both is able enough to enrich the Princes thereof, and hath enriched them, when they have

been contented alone with it, rather than when they have sought and gotten great augmentations of other countries. Which things if you will weigh in a just pair of balances, without being affected so much as you are to strangers, I do not doubt but ye will condescend now at the last to my opinion and judgment, and think, as ever I have thought, that for all purposes it were better for the Queen's Majesty, if it could stand with her pleasure, to marry an Englishman, than any other stranger whatsoever he be.

Nay, said he whom they called Mr. Godfather, stammering after his manner, speak to me, man, that am indifferent, never speak to him. For ye are not so far in with England and Englishmen, as he is with strangers; or to this our host here. Let him give judgment; for he hath been attentive enough; I am sure he hath borne away all that hath been spoken. Come on, quoth he to me, what say you to the matter? Marry, quoth I, it were a presumption indeed to speak before my prince, without commission. I trust her Highness shortly will give sentence herself: and not with words, but with deeds, shew who took the better part to the great contentation of us all. But yonder hath one stood a good while to call us to supper. I have caused him to stay whilst all were ended. Why, is it supper-time so soon? quoth one of them: it may be so by the day, but methought the time was very short. So it appeared to me, quoth I; but supper tarrieth for you. Well, we must obey our host, said they; and so walked in fair and softly, jesting one with another at their new names.

Number IV.

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

The humble petition of Thomas Smith, Esquire; uncle and heir of Edward Smith, Esquire, deceased; son and heir of Sir William Smith the younger; and heir of Sir William Smith the elder; who was nephew and heir of Sir Thomas Smith, Knight, deceased; sheweth,

THAT the said Sir Thomas Smith, the petitioner's ancestor, had the honour to serve as Secretary of State to your Majesty's most noble progenitor Queen Elizabeth of happy memory, and served her in that employment faithfully many years. And in the thirteenth year of her reign, the said late Queen did make a grant, by letters patents under the great seal, to the said Sir Thomas Smith, and Thomas his then son, and heir apparent, of divers manors, castles, and lands thereto belonging, in the county of Downe in the realm of Ireland: which were then possessed by divers persons, who were in actual rebellion against her Highness, with command, that the said Sir Thomas Smith should enter upon the parts infested by the said rebels, and by force of arms obtain the same from them.

And the said Sir Thomas Smith did at his great charge raise an army, and entered those parts, and gained them unto their due obedience: in which said service the said Thomas, his son, was slain. And then the said Sir Thomas Smith assigned the said Sir William Smith, his nephew, to take the charge of prosecution of that war, and came over to England to attend the further service of her Majesty, and to solicit her Majesty, that the lands might be surveyed, and the rents ascertained, and his grant and title perfected. And her Majesty taking notice of such the great service of the said Sir Thomas Smith, was pleased several times graciously to declare, that her royal inten-

tions to the said Sir Thomas Smith should be made good. But by reason of the many great troubles falling out in her time, the same was not done during all the time of her reign.

And afterwards the said Sir William Smith the elder was commanded by the said Queen upon service into Spain; and upon his departure out of England, he desired Sir James Hamilton, Knight, to prosecute his said grant on the said Sir William's behalf, and procure the same for him. And the said Sir James Hamilton, in the time of your noble grandfather King James, upon some undue pretences, contrary to the trust in him reposed by the said Sir William Smith, obtained the said lands to be granted to himself, upon pretence of a valuable consideration paid; which, in truth, was never paid. But, in truth, according to the intention of the late Queen, the said lands are the right of your petitioner.

That Sir William Smith died about forty years since; and Sir William, his son and heir, since died, and left his son and heir, an infant of two years old; and until he came at age, nothing could be done. And the troublesome times happening since his death, the petitioner and his ancestors have sit down by the loss. Yet your petitioner hopeth that that long discontinuance shall not be a bar to his just right:

> But humbly prayeth your Majesty to cause an examination of the premises to be made, and certified to your Majesty; and then the petitioner hopes, that when the truth of the fact shall appear, your Majesty will be graciously pleased to do therein, for the petitioner's relief, what shall be agreeable to justice. And your petitioner shall, &c.

At the Court at Whitehall, 14 *Nov.* 1660.

His Majesty is pleased to refer this petition to the Right Honourable Sir Maurice Eustace, Lord Chancellor of Ireland; who having examined and considered the

contents and allegations of this petition, is to certify his Majesty how he findeth the same, and what his Lordship conceiveth to be just and fit for his Majesty to do therein, and then his Majesty will declare his further pleasure.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Sir Maurice Eustace's Certificate.

It may please your Excellent Majesty,

I have, according to your Majesty's gracious reference, considered the petition of Thomas Smith, Esquire: and considering that the petitioner doth ground his title upon a patent made 13 Elizabeth unto his ancestors, and that the said title hath been very much controverted, and the possession gone for a long time against the petitioner, and some descents last; I humbly conceive that it is neither fit nor convenient for your Majesty to determine this cause upon a paper petition. But your Majesty, in regard your courts of justice in Ireland will be soon open, may be pleased to leave all parties pretending interest to the said lands to your Majesty's courts of justice, in that your kingdom, to be proceeded in as they shall be advised by their counsel. And the rather for that the Earl of Clanbrazil, who is interested in the said lands by descent from his father, is a minor, and under years, and cannot be concluded by any order which can be made against him during his minority. All which is humbly submitted to your Majesty's judgment.

MAURICE EUSTACE, Canc.

Num. V.

Sir Thomas Smith's Tables of Money. And for the reducing the Roman monies to the English standard.

Table I.

In the pound weight of silver there is, of current monies,

Sh.	D.	Groats current.	Pence.	
20	0	60	240	the ounce at 20d.
24	0	72	284	the ounce at 2s.
32	0	96	[a]384	the ounce at 2s. 8d.
33	4	100	[b]400	the ounce at 2s. 9d. q. $\frac{1}{3}$ of a q.
36	0	108	432	the ounce at 3s.
40	0	120	480	the ounce at 3s. 4d.
44	0	132	528	the ounce at 3s. 8d.
48	0	144	576	the ounce at 4s.
60	0	130	[c]720	the ounce at 5s.

[a] This Budæus maketh the Roman standard, adding to it half an ounce.

[b] This I take to be the Roman standard.

[c] The standard 1568. reg. Eliz. 9.

Table II.

When the standard money is at 20d. the ounce.

		Groats.	Pence.	Half-pence.	Far-things.	Grains Fr.	Grains Eng.
Δωδεκατημόριον Uncia		5	20	40	80	576	640
Semuncia	$\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$	10	20	40	288	320
Duella	$\frac{1}{3}$	$1\frac{2}{3}$	$6\frac{1}{3}$	$13\frac{1}{3}$	$26\frac{2}{3}$	192	$213\frac{1}{3}$
Siciliquus Didrachmum	$\frac{1}{4}$	$1\frac{1}{4}$	5	10	20	144	160
	$\frac{1}{5}$						
Sextula The Angel	$\frac{1}{6}$						
	$\frac{1}{7}$						
Dena. Rom. Drachma Half Real	$\frac{1}{8}$						
	$\frac{1}{9}$						
	$\frac{1}{10}$						
	$\frac{1}{11}$						
Half Angel	$\frac{1}{12}$						

There is a third Table, when 7 groats, viz. 2s. 4d. made the ounce, shewing how many pence, half-pence, farthings, and Q. were required to make each piece accord with the Roman Semuncia, Duella, Sicilicus Regalis, Denarius primus, Sextula Angelatus, Denarius secundus, Drachma, Scrupulus, Obolus. A fourth Table, when 8 groats, viz. 2s. 8d. made the ounce. A fifth, when 10 groats, viz. 3s. 4d. made the ounce. A sixth, when 5 groats, viz. 20d. made the ounce. A seventh, when 8 groats, $\frac{1}{3}$, or 2s. $9\frac{1}{3}$d. made the ounce. An eighth, when 15 groats, or 5s. make the ounce. All which Tables I will pass over, and set down only the last, because that is the present standard at this day.

Sterling Penny $\frac{1}{240}$ Unciæ

Scrupulus vel Denarius Gallic. $\frac{1}{24}$ { Unciæ; $\frac{1}{2}$ Drachm.

Obolus $\frac{1}{48}$ { Unciæ; $\frac{1}{2}$ Scrup.; $\frac{1}{6}$ Drachm.

Semiobolus $\frac{1}{2}$ Obol. { $\frac{1}{12}$ Drachm.; $\frac{1}{960}$ Unciæ

Ceratium { $\frac{1}{240}$ Drachm.; $\frac{1}{11520}$ Unciæ

Table VIII.

When 15 *groats, or* 5 *shillings, make the ounce.*

	Groats.	Pence.	Ob.	Qrs.	Q.	C.	
1	15	60	120	240	480	960	Uncia
$\frac{1}{2}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$	30	60	120	240	480	Semuncia
$\frac{1}{3}$	5	20	40	80	160	320	Duella
$\frac{1}{4}$	$3\frac{3}{4}$	15	30	60	120	240	Sicilicus
$\frac{1}{5}$	3	12	24	48	96	192	Dena. Ro. primus
$\frac{1}{6}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$	10	20	40	80	160	Sextula
$\frac{1}{7}$	$2\frac{1}{7}$	$8\frac{4}{7}$	$17\frac{1}{7}$	$34\frac{2}{7}$	$68\frac{4}{7}$	$137\frac{1}{7}$	Dena. Ro. secundus
$\frac{1}{8}$	$1\frac{7}{8}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$	15	30	60	112	Drachma Dena. tert.
$\frac{1}{9}$	$1\frac{6}{9}$	$6\frac{2}{3}$	$13\frac{1}{3}$	$26\frac{2}{3}$	$53\frac{1}{3}$	$106\frac{2}{3}$	
$\frac{1}{10}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	6	12	24	48	96	
$\frac{1}{11}$	$1\frac{6}{11}$	$5\frac{5}{11}$	$10\frac{10}{11}$	$21\frac{9}{11}$	$43\frac{7}{11}$	$87\frac{3}{11}$	
$\frac{1}{12}$	$1\frac{1}{4}$	5	10	20	40	80	
$\frac{1}{13}$	$1\frac{2}{13}$	$4\frac{8}{13}$	$9\frac{3}{13}$	$18\frac{6}{13}$	$36\frac{12}{13}$	$73\frac{11}{13}$	
$\frac{1}{14}$	$1\frac{1}{14}$	$4\frac{2}{7}$	$8\frac{4}{7}$	$17\frac{1}{7}$	$34\frac{2}{7}$	$68\frac{4}{7}$	
$\frac{1}{15}$	1	4	8	16	32	64	
$\frac{1}{16}$	0	$3\frac{3}{4}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$	15	30	60	
$\frac{1}{24}$	0	$2\frac{1}{2}$	5	10	20	40	Scrupulus
$\frac{1}{48}$	0	$1\frac{1}{3}$	$2\frac{2}{3}$	$5\frac{1}{3}$	$10\frac{2}{3}$	$21\frac{1}{3}$	Obolus

Table IX.

The mark containeth

Sh.	D.	Groats.	Pence.	
13	4	40	160	the ounce at 20d.
16	0	48	192	the ounce at 2s.
21	4	64	256	the ounce at 2s. 8d.
24	0	72	288	the ounce at 3s.
26	8	80	320	the ounce at 3s. 4d.

Table X.

Twenty English pence of the standard make one ounce. Twelve ounces make the English pound sterling, at 11 *ounces silver, and one the ounce allay.*

The pound containeth

Sh.	Groats.	Pence.	
20	60	240	the ounce at 20d.
[a]32	96	484	the ounce at 2s. 8d.
36	108	432	the ounce at 3s.
40	120	480	the ounce at 3s. 4d.
44	132	528	the ounce at 3s. 8d.
48	144	536	the ounce at 4s.
60	180	720	the ounce at 5s.

[a] This is next to the Roman supputation.

Table XI.

		Sh.	D.	Groats.		Pence.	Halfpence.	Farthings.
Uncia	1	5	0	15		60	120	240
Semuncia	$\frac{1}{2}$	2	6	7	2	30	60	120
Didrachma / Siciliquum	$\frac{1}{4}$	1	3	3	3	15	30	60
Drachma	$\frac{1}{8}$	0	0	1	3 ob.	7 ob.	15	30
Sesqui-scrupulus	$\frac{1}{6}$	Half Drachma / Sesquiscrupulus				3 ob. q.	7 q.	15
Scrupulus / γραμμα	$\frac{1}{24}$	The third part of a Drachme				1 q.	2 q.	5
Obolus	$\frac{1}{48}$	The half of a Scruple					1 q.	2
Siliqua	$\frac{1}{144}$	The third part of Obolus					1 q. prick	$\frac{1}{3}$ of 1 prick.

Gallorum.

Drachma vocatus a Gallis Grossus } continet { Denarios Gallicos } 3 Sterlinos $2\frac{1}{2}$

Then follows a discourse for demonstrating the reduction of the Roman coins to our money.

TO esteem these by the coins of England which I have. I have an old Edward groat, whether the third or fourth I know not. This groat weigheth 8d. ob. of the standard, which is current (1561. *viz.*) at 5s. the ounce: whereby it appeareth, that then the monies went at 2s. 4d. q. the ounce. The pound then contained

Shillings.	Groats.	Pence.
28—3d.	$84\frac{3}{4}$	339

I have also two Roman denarii; the one entitled *Lucius Valerius Flaccus*, the other *Marcus Herennius*. On the one side Æneas is pictured carrying his father; on the other side *Pietas*, with the face of Herennius. But each of them be too light for the groat of King Edward. And these two denarii weigh just the aureum or didrachma of gold, which was coined in the time of Tiberius Claudius: which hath on the one side his image, with the titles; on the other side a triumphal arch, written upon it *De Britannia*. Which was found on the Windmill Hill at Walden, about 1535; and brought to me, a Scholar in Cambridge, all black: and it weigheth just the old rial, called *the noble of the rose;* which is the angel and the half-angel, and is as fine gold. So that it doth agree with those coins of gold whereupon Budæus maketh his estimation.

And if an hundred of those denarii made a just pound of the Romans, as Budæus doth plainly gather, and as it doth appear by all authors, then the money was at eight denarii or groats, and one $\frac{1}{2}$ of denarius. And so, if we count after our money, the 2s. 9d. q. $\frac{2}{3}$ of that standard maketh an ounce. And so the pound then contained

Shillings.	Groats or Denarii.	Pence.
33—4d.	100	400 of that standard.

Whereby it doth appear, that the standard in that King Edward's time, whose groat I have, was of more value and weight than the Roman standard, yea before the Emperor did abase it.

I have also divers pence, but they seem to be elder; for three of the pence, titled Edward's, with two Edward half-pence, weigheth more than that Edward groat by half one of Queen Elizabeth's pence. Wherefore I take his pence to be of some elder Edward, either the third, second, or the first, and not of that Edward whose I have. Of which I have also another guess: for they do name him only *Rex Angliæ Dns Hyberniæ*, where the groat hath *Rex Angliæ, Franciæ, et Dns Hyberniæ*. And as I remember I have read that Edward III. or else the IV. was the first coined groats, where before they used all pence, and no bigger coin of silver: as now the Turk coineth only aspers, much of the value of our elder penny.

And by these accounts it appeareth that Tonstal must be civilly understood in his addition to his book *de Arte Supputandi;* where he saith, that the Roman pound is double to ours: for, by all accounts, both the ounce, and also the pound, is all one. For six aurei solidi, or sextulæ, made an ounce to the Romans; and so do to us six angels. Four aurei didrachmales made an ounce, and so do to us four rials: which be, both in fineness of gold, and also in weight, all one with the Roman coins. And then twelve ounces made the Roman pound; and so it doth to us in all supputation of money. Wherefore he must not be simply taken, that simply the Roman pound was double to our English pound-weight; for without fail they were all one. Yet I must needs note, that Budæus maketh minam, or libram nummariam, to contain twelve ounces and half ounce, and maketh his supputation at eight denarii, drachmæ, or groats, the ounce. And so, at 2s. 8d. the ounce, as it is afore at twelve ounces, the pound containeth

Shillings.	Groats.	Pence.
32	96	384

Putting to the half-ounce, it maketh

Shillings.	Groats.	Pence.
32 4d.	100	400

Marry, Budee, to make the French gross francs and deniers to agree with the Roman pound, is put sometimes to hard shifts.

But howsoever it be, whether the Roman denarius was to be accounted, as I do account it, at $8\frac{1}{3}$ to the ounce, or at 8 denarii or groats to the ounce, and then the Roman pound to have one half ounce more than twelve ounces; yet when Tonstal wrote, by no estimation their pound can be double to ours. For he wrote about the 12th or 16th year of King Henry VIII. and then the standard was, as may appear by his supputation, of the crown of the sun, which is 3s. 4d. and at that account those groats could not be the one half in proportion, neither to the monies of 2s. 8d. as Budæus doth account, neither of 2s. 9d. q. $\frac{1}{3}$ of our farthing, as I do account. But troth it is, that at 3s. 4d. the ounce, 40s. of our current money maketh the English pound-weight, and also the Roman pound-weight. And thereby it appeareth that the 20s. at the first coin of England weighed double so much, as then at 3s. 4d. the ounce it did. And so our first English pound is double to that in weight which was then called in payment the English pound, and treble to that which is now current. But the Roman pound and denarii were in proportion to that current money in the time of Tonstal, as 120 is to 100, or 6 to 5, which is called *sesqui quinta.* And it is to our current money now, I mean the denarius to our groat, and the sestertius to our penny, as 18 to 10, or 9 to 5, which is called *sesqui quadripartiens quintas.* And so the Roman denarius containeth of our money now current 7d. $\frac{2}{3}$, and one halfpenny; and which, by the old and first sterling of groats, the groat weigheth just 12d. of our current money, anno 1561.

Wherefore, leaving all other altercation and variety apart, I do take to be most sure which Budee, with exceeding labour, and no less wit than diligence, hath found

out, that the Roman denarius and the Athenian drachma was, in the better worlds, and when the surest supputation is to be made, all one: and that the coin called aureus, and sometimes Philippei, or other names, weighed just two denarii or drachmæ, and so four made the ounce, and twelve of those ounces made the pound; so that it is more than manifest that the Roman pound, and the English pound, called Troy weight, or the pound of silver, or the goldsmith's pound, was, and is, all one with the Roman pound. Wherein we have to glory, that our nation hath reserved that antiquity more than any other that I know. For they follow all the pound of eight ounces, which is called the mark; which I think was brought into this realm first by William the Norman. For I have certain coins of Etheldred, or other before the Conquest, whose silver, although it appeareth not so good, yet the weight goeth near to the old rate of the English penny.

Table XII.

For weighing monies of gold, current in Sir Thomas Smith's time.

In this manner following you may weigh all manner of gold, what coin soever it be, with these kind of weights, which are called pence and grains, that is, with six pence and four and twenty grains. The twenty-four grains weigh one penny, and the twenty-four pence weigh one ounce.

	d.	*gr.*
First, the rose noble	6	
The half noble	3	
The quarter of a noble	1	12
The Henrys' noble, the Flanders noble, and the double ducat of Italy	5	8
The double ducat of Spain	5	12
The half real, the ducat of Spain, and the ducat of Portugal and Hungary, and the Flanders rider	2	18

	d.	gr.
The half ducat of Italy, the French crown, the salute, and the Flanders crown	2	16
The old English crown	2	8
The real	4	4
The sovereign	4	16
The Karolus gilden	2	8
The Andrews gilden, and the Philips gild	2	14
The angel	4	
The half angel	2	
The golden lion	3	6
The Cornosters gilden	2	13

And all the gold that is not here named, and current, and valued, may with these weights be weighed.

Table XIII.

Supputatio nostræ Pecuniæ ad veterem Romanorum, ut colligit Tonstallus è Budæo.

Aurei Romani quatuor pendebant unciam. Hos æquant nobiles rosati quos regales vocamus.

Aureus hic Othonis tempore c. sestertiis valebat; hoc est 25 denariis. Bud. lib. 2°. de Ass. 112. et 3°. 213.

Aurei minores solidi et sextulæ dictæ sex pendebant unciam. Hos æquant angelati nobiles.

Libra nummaria argenti continebat 100 denarios argenti. Denarii vero et drachmæ ejusdem erant ponderis. Hos æquant nostri grossi, [groats.]

Sestertii argentei quatuor denarium faciebant; et pondere et indicatura nostri sterlingi denarii (sive pennies) valent sestertiis.

Aureus unus c. sestertia Galbæ tempore, 5000 sestertia in libra.

Auri ad argentum analogia $12\frac{1}{2}=1$.

Table XIV.

Collatio mensurarum Anglicarum cum Romanis. Ex Columella, Li. 5°. ca. 1°.

Pes digitos habet 16. [libra] uncias 12.

Passus pedes 5. Actus minimus [a ridge] ut ait Varro, latitudinis pedes 4, longitudinis pedes 120.

Clima quaquaversum pedum 60.

Actus quadratus finitur undique pedibus 120, et continet 14400 pedes quadratos.

Jugerum a juncto dicitur; continet actus quadratos duos, pedes 28800.

Agnam rusticæ betici actum quadratum vocant.

Porcam iidem vocant latitudinem 30 pedum, longitudinem 180.

Candetum in areis urbanis Galli vocant spatium pedum 100.

Candetum in agrestibus pedum 150.

Semijugerum, hoc est, actum quadratum Galli Arepennem vocant.

Ergo duo actus jugerum efficiunt, longitudine pedum 240, latitudine pedum 120. Quæ utræque summæ inter se multiplicatæ quadratorum faciunt pedum 28800.

Anglorum mensura.

Pollex vel uncia spatium est quod faciunt tria grana hordei sicca et rotunda.

Pedem faciunt pollices duodecim.

Ulnam (a yard) pedes faciunt tres.

Pertica, quinque ulnæ et dimidium, hoc est $16\frac{1}{2}$ pedes.

Acra 40 perticæ in longitudine, et 4 in latitudine.

Ergo acra seu jugerum Anglicum continet in latitudine pedes 66, in longitudine pedes 660. Quæ summæ multiplicatæ faciunt pedes quadratos 43560.

Ita jugerum, seu acra Anglica, major est jugero Romano pedibus quadratis 14760.

Et pertica Romana videtur continere pedes 13—3—5. 14760 pedes quadrati faciunt perticas Anglicas quadratas 40. hoc est, $\frac{1}{4}$ jugeri, et 14 perticas simplices et pedes $50\frac{1}{2}$.

Semijugerum, seu actus Anglicus, continet in latitudine pedes 33, in longitudine 330, et pedes quadratos 21780.

Jugerum vero Romanum, ut antea, pedes quadratos 28800. Ita jugerum Romanum non exuperat Anglicam semiacram nisi pedibus quadratis 7020.

Pertica Anglica quadrata continet pedes $272\frac{1}{4}$.

Jugerum continet perticas quadratas 160.

Jugerum Anglicum, quam vocamus acram, continet pedes quadratos 43560, perticas quadratas 160.

Semijugerum, quam haulfacre appellamus, continet pedes quadratos 21780, perticas quadratas 80.

Quadras jugeri, quem rudum appellamus, [vel potius roodum,] continet pedes quadratos 10890, perticas quadratas 40.

Number VI.

Sir Thomas Smith's library, Aug. 1, 1566, *in his gallery at Hillhall.*

Theologici.

OMNIA Opera Augustini, in 10 vol.
Chrysostomi Opera Latine, in 5 vol.
Origenis pars prima
Origenis pars secunda
Ambrosii Opera, vol. i.
Bedæ Opera, vol. i.
Χρυσόστομος εἰς ἐπιστολὰς Παύλου, vol. ii.
Οἰκεμένιος, vol. i.
Lutheri Opera, tom. iii.
Erasmi Opera, tom. ix.
Bucerus in Paulum
Ecclesiastica Historia Tripartita
Galatinus
Biblia Castalionis
Nicephori Historia, vol. i.
Felinus in Psalmos
Clementis Stromata
Psalterium quintuplex
Concordantiæ Biblior.
Biblia Tostana
Biblia en François
Catalogus Testium Veritatis contra Papam
Postellus de Orbis Concordia
Harmonia Evangelica
Biblia Hebraica, vol. ii.
Mahomet, vol. i.
Proverbia Salom. Hebr.
Mases Latinus
Pet. Martyr in Lib. Jud.
Hieremias, Hebr.
Conference de la Mes.
Μαξίμου Τυρίου
Θεμιστίου φιλοσόφου
Differentia Reg. Potest. et Ecclesiast.
Proverbes du Solomon
Satire Papale
Apologie de l'Eglise d'Angleterre
De Faux Prophetes
Les Epistres Guevarre
Prediche di Bernard Ochiu, vol. ii.
Ἡ καινὴ Διαθήκη
Proverb. Salom. Hebr.
Flores Theologici
Ἡ καινὴ Διαθήκη
Resolutiones Bullingois
Cent Sermons sur l'Apocalypse
Malleus Maleficarum
K. Henry VIII. Book
Response de Ro. Prestiene
Disputatio Oxon. de Sacramento
De Monde a l'Empire

Cassander de Missa
Paradoxa Lamberti
Commentarii di Psal.
Eusebius Captivus
Ordonances de l'Eglise de Geneve

Juris Civilis.

Pandectæ Grand. vol. iii.
Novellæ Constitut. vol. i.
Codex, vol. i.
Repertorium Bertachini, vol. iii.
Lindwood
Compendium Jur. Civilis Corani, vol. ii.
Processus Juris
Decreta
Decretalia
Sextus cum Clementinis
De Maleficiis, et Poemis, et Praxis Crim. persequent.
Pandectæ, in 4to. vol. v.
Consuetudines, in 4to.
Instituta, in 4to.
Alciati Opera
Zazius de Act. et Exc.
Mainerii de Reg. Juris
Speculum Juris, vol. iii.
Ars Notariatus
Divus et Decius
Instituta Θεοφίλου
Bellonus et Canciuncala
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Practica Baldi et Lanfrancus
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Fitz Herbert's Abridgments, vol. ii.
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Years and Terms of Edward III.
Statutes of Ed. and Mar.
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Φλαβίου Ἰωσίππου.
Titus Livius

Suetonius
Antonius Sabell. vol. ii.
Albert. Crantzii, Danica, Suevica, Norvegica
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Παράλληλα Πλουτάρχου
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Pirrhy Piacii de Reb. Trident.
Dionysii Halicarnass.
Annales Boiorum
Nebressensis Hisp.
Cromeri Polon. Hist.
Olaus Magnus de Gentib. Septen.
Paulus Æmilius
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Chronica di Genoa et Florent.
Annales Genealog.
Chronia de Nismes et Armories des Conest.
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Chronica Phrigionis
Στράβων, Στέφανος, Παυσανίας.
Histoire Ecclésiastique, vol. ii.
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Description d'Affrique
Fasti et Triumphi Romani
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Les Annales de Bretaigne
Les Annales de Aquitaigne
Commentaria Rerum Flandricarum
De Migrationib. Gentium
Plutarchus de Vitis
Annales Généalogiques
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Paradini Continuation des Temp.
Petri Bembi Historia Veneta
Historia di Giovanni Villani
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Suetonius
Historie di Guazzo, vol. ii.
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Olai Magni Suetica
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Ludov. d'Avila de Bello German.
Justinus Hist.
XII. Vicecomites Pauli Jovii
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Paulo Jovio
Leo Arretinus, de Bello Gothorum
Capella de Bello pro Restit. Francisci II. Ducis Mediolan.
Vita di Leone, Adriano Pontif. et Car. Colon.
Salust. et Q. Curtius
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Petr. Ramus de Morib. Veter. Gallorum
Erotemata Linguæ Hebraicæ

Number VII.

THE patent for the *New Art*, as it was called, for transmuting iron into copper, was there said to be signed January 1574, but it seems to have been drawn up two years before. For I find a brief of these letters patents with this date, *viz.* 4 Decemb. an. Reg. Eliz. 14°. Which brief or summary was as followeth:

A brief of the letters patents of priviledge for the making of copper and quicksilver by way of transmutation, with other commodities growing of that mystery, graunted by her Majestie to Sir Thomas Smith, Knight, Robert Earl of Leicester, William Lord Burghley, and Sir Humfrey Gilbert, Knight.

First, they are incorporated by the name of Governor and Society of the New Art.

They may have and use a common seal for their common affaires touching the same art.

They have capacity to take to them and their successors any lands, tenements, rents, reversions, or other hereditaments, goods and chattels whatsoever, in fee, perpetuity, term of life or lives, or other meaner estates; and the same to alien at their plesures by common consent, to any person able in law to receive them.

Also by the same name they are enhabled to plead or be empleaded in any court or action touching the said Governor and Society, or any the liberties, powers, authorities, profits, or immunities whatsoever to them graunted, or hereafter to be graunted, in as ample maner as any other corporations within the realm of England.

They may have one Governor, and one Deputy, for the rule and order of the affairs appertaining, to govern according to laws and ordinances to be made as in the said letters patents is appointed.

Sir Thomas Smyth to be the first and present Governor, to hold the same during his life, if he shall not sooner relinquish the same.

That during his continuance in that office, he may, with the assent of the more part of that Society, depute some sad and discreet person.

That they may at al times hereafter, and in al places convenient, assemble themselves for the keeping of courts, for the good government of that Society, and al their factors, ministers, or any the workmen, &c. and for the executing of the powers and authorities graunted by those letters patents.

That after the death of the now Governour, or relinquishing of that place, they may chuse another Governour and Deputy, to continue for one year, or for such time as by the laws and ordinances of that Society shalbe hereafter from time to time limited and appointed.

If any dy, or be duely removed from the office of Governour within that time that he should otherwise have had continuance therein; that they, or so many of the Society as the ordinances shal allow, may chuse another, to supply the residue of that term unexpired.

That by themselves, or others for them, at al times hereafter, and in al the parts of any the dominions of her Majesty, her heirs or successors, by and according to the said art and invention, or any other device hereafter by them or any of that Society, or any other persons at their costs and charges, to be found out and invented, they may fine, alter, and transmute iron, iron ower, and every thing that doth or may come theron into an kind of copper; and likewise antimony, lead, or lead ower, and every thing that may come or procede therof, into quicksilver.

That they may dig, open, and work for any mines, owers, and things whatsoever, meet and needful to be occupied, used, or had in or about the premisses, or any of them; and to do, execute, and cause to be don and executed al devices needful; or which conveniently or incidently wil or shal fal out in or about this mystery.

That they may at al times, and from time to time, sel, estchange, or otherwise utter or cause to be uttered, to their most advantage in any place within this realm, or

any the dominions belonging to her Majesty, her heirs or successors, or any foreign or outward realm, place, or dominion whatsoever, other then to the known and open enemies of her Majesty, her heirs or successors; and the same to utter for their most commodity; paying to her Majesty, her heirs and successors, only after the rate of XL shil. for every parcel of any of the said commodies amounting to the value of an 100*l*. The same to be valued after these rates: that is to say, every hundred pound weight of

Copper at 40*s*. English,
Quicksilver at 5*l*. English,
Vitriol or Coperas at 2*s*. English,
Alome at 5*s*. English,

to be paid after such maner as the subsidy called poundage, graunted by Parlament in the first year of her Majesties reign, for al customes, subsidies, and duties whatsoever, in respect of the premisses, or of any thing touching the same, without manifesting before the shipping therof to any customer, or other officer, or person whatsoever, the true weight of any such mettal, as shal be so shipped, in such maner, or to such intent, as by the statute of the 33 Henry VIII. concerning the conveyance of bras, lattin, or bel-mettal over the sea; and one other statute [of Parliament] holden by prorogation 2 Edward VI. against the carying of bel-mettal out of the realm, or by either of them is limitted and appointed; with a general dispensation against al the branches of the same statutes, or any other laws or customs heretofore made, or to be made with a discharge to the customers, searchers, or other ministers, that they shal not take any mony for custome, subsidy, or other duty whatsoever, other than is above mentioned; nor be chargeable for the concelement of any copper so made and transported.

That the said Society and their factors shal solely enjoy this privilege for the exercise of this said art, al other persons prohibited to put the same in use in any her Majesties dominions, or to bring from any foreign parts any

of the said mettals so tryed, fined, or transmuted, or any commodities growing theron; upon pain of one year's imprisonment, the forfeiture of the said mettals, and other the said commodities, and the fine of an 100*l.* the one moiety therof to her Majesty, her heirs, &c. and the other to the said Corporation, with such further penalty as by her Majesty, her heirs, or successors shal by their prerogative be imposed for the contempt.

That like privilege shal hereafter be graunted to any other persons for the exercise of the like mystery, but that the aid and assistance of their prerogative royal shal be extended to the disturbance of such persons, and the defacing and destroying of their engins and instruments belonging therto, and the defence of this present graunt according to the purport thereof.

That the Governour, with al such persons as for the time shal be of that Society, and with their whole consents, may make laws and ordinances for the admitting of moe persons into this Corporation, and the expelling of any as cause shal be; and for the limiting of the divident arising to every of the members of this Society by the said new art, or of any the lands, tenements, or hereditaments belonging to the said Society; and for the abrogating of any ordinances by them made; so the same be by like universal consent, as is abovesaid.

That so many as by the laws and ordinances so to be made shal be limited and appointed may put in execution al the said laws so made for the government of this Society, and of every member therof, and every thing concerning the same, so long as they shal stand in force.

That every person admitted into this Society according to the same laws, shall be free of the same from the time of his admittance.

That none admitted in any other maner than is before exprest, or contrary to the purport or true meaning of the said letters patents, or which shal be expelled, or dismembered from the said Society, shal at any time after be, or be accompted, any member of the said body politic.

A tenth part of the copper and quicksilver to be yielded to her Majesty, for the space of five years after the feast of All Saints, next after the date of the letters patents, and delivered to such persons as by her Majestie, her heirs and successors, shal be appointed, at such place as the same shal be transmuted: or in lieu therof an 100*l.* yearly for every year of the said five; in which the said Governour and Society shal make any such copper or quicksilver, at the choise of the said Governor and Society, and their successors; to be paid on the last day of October at the receit of the Exchequor. And after the said five years, either the said tenth part in maner and form aforesaid, or the sum of 200*l.* yearly in lieu therof, in every such year wherin they shal by the said art make any such alteration as is aforesaid; and that al their election and their successors.

At the feast of St. Michael.

That the Corporation shal not consist of moe then xx persons at any time hereafter.

That al the gains and charges shal always be equally taken and born after the rate and proportion of the whole in effect in five parts to be divided.

That every person of this Society that shal privatly practise this art, for his own lucre and commoditie, or go about the same otherwise than by the common appointment of the said Governor and Society, shal be dismembred therby for ever, and be dishabled to enjoy any part of the privilege or other interest granted hereby.

That the said Society may have capacity to purchase lands to the value of an 100 marks by year over and above al reprises, being not holden immediately *in capite*, or by Knights service of her Majesty, &c.

With a charge of aid to be yielded to the said Governor and Society, and al the members and ministers therof by al her Majesties officers and loving subjects, in this their art and mystery, and the practice and exercise therof.

THE END.